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A VIEW
OF
THE COINAGE OF THE HEPTARCHY;
TO WHICH IS ADDED
A LIST OF UNPUBLISHED MINTS AND MONEYS
OF THE
CHIEF OR SOLE MONARCHS,
FROM EGBERT TO HAROLD II.
ALSO,
COPIOUS TABLES, LISTS, AND DESCRIPTIONS;
WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL HOARDS OR PARCELS
OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS
WHICH HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED.

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS OF UNPUBLISHED COINS.

BY JOHN LINDSAY, Esq. BARRISTER AT LAW.

AUTHOR OF "A VIEW OF THE COINAGE OF IRELAND."

CORK:

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1842—
MCCCXLII.

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A VIEW

THE COINAGE OF THE REPUBLIC;

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A LIST OF UNPUBLISHED MINTS AND MONETARY

OF THE

CHIEF OF SOLE MONETARY

FROM REPORT TO PARLIAMENT

1851

COPIES, TABLES, LISTS, AND DESCRIPTIONS

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL MONETARY

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FROM THE DEPT. OF THE

REPRESENTED WITH NUMERICAL DATA OF THE MONETARY

BY JOHN LINDLEY, ESQ. M.A. F.R.S.

PRINTED BY WILKINSON AND SONS, 15, N. B. ST.

1851

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1851

WITH NUMERICAL DATA OF THE MONETARY

1851

TO

JAMES DODSLEY CUFF, Esq. F.S.A., &c. &c.

THE LIBERAL AND ENLIGHTENED PROPRIETOR OF A COLLECTION OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS,

EQUALLED ONLY BY OUR SPLENDID NATIONAL ONE ;

THIS VIEW OF THE COINAGE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY,

Is respectfully inscribed,

BY

His faithful and obedient Servant,

JOHN LINDSAY.

Cork, March 21, 1842.

TO

JAMES DODDLEY GUTH, Esq. F.R.S., &c. &c.

THE LIBERAL AND ENLIGHTENED PROPRIETOR OF A COLLECTION OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS

REGARDED ONE BY OUR SPECIMEN NATIONAL ONE

THIS VIEW OF THE COINAGE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY

Is respectfully inscribed,

BY

His obliged and obedient Servant

JOHN BIRNEY

Coth. March 21. 1842.

PREFACE.

To add any thing new or important to the view which has been taken of the Anglo-Saxon coinage by RUDING and his subsequent editors, and in a later and much more accurate work by Mr. HAWKINS, and to discover materials sufficiently interesting for a new work on the same subject, will probably appear to many a very bold and hopeless undertaking. Those however, who are more intimately conversant with the Anglo-Saxon coinage, must be aware of the wide field for investigation and discovery, presented by the Heptarchic portion of it in particular, and that much as has been accomplished by the able writers just mentioned, much more still remains to be done.

How, or to what extent this object has been accomplished by the writer of this essay, it is for the learned to judge; but as many new appropriations are now suggested, and many remarkable coins, now for the first time exhibited, it will at least be admitted, that some additional progress has been made to a more perfect knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchic coinage.

To exhibit this matter in a clearer light, I shall briefly notice, a few of the Heptarchic coins, whose arrangement and appropriation has been considered unsatisfactory and uncertain.

In the Northumbrian series, a great deal has been done, by the Numismatists of the present day, to elucidate these coins, but much still remains, and the names of Alfwald, Ethelred and Ella, require more attention, than has been hitherto given them, whilst among the later coins of the same kingdom, it has lately been doubted, whether all the coins of Anlaf, belong to the same king, and whether the coins of Regnald, should not be increased, by the addition of certain pennies, generally supposed to be ecclesiastical.

The coinage of East Anglia, is still more a subject of doubt and difficulty ; the coins of Ethelweard and Beorthric, by the sanction of Mr. HAWKINS, and other eminent Numismatists have, and I think with propriety, been added to this series, but it has been doubted, whether those of Eadvald, hitherto supposed to belong to Mercia, and those of Athelstan, bearing a rude portrait, (HAWKINS 188, 9, 90,) should not also, be tranferred to East Anglia.

Of the kingdom of Kent, it is a question, well worth discussing, whether we have any coins, anterior to those of Eadberht II. 794.

Neither are the coins of Mercia without their difficulties, the question relative to the removal of those of Eadvald has already been noticed, those assigned to the son of Offa are not beyond question, but those of Ciolwulf I. and II. will require the closest consideration.

The Skeattas, also present an ample but hitherto neglected field for investigation, and a close attention to them, will I hope enable me to offer to the reader something like a classification of these coins, which if not satisfactory, may at least lead with more facility to future discoveries.

If to these materials for discussion should be added the numerous discoveries of unpublished coins which have lately been made, and when it is considered that to the works already published on the subject, the Irish cabinets, many of them rich in Anglo-Saxon coins, have hitherto contributed but little, it will I think be admitted that something may be done to a more perfect illustration of the Anglo-Saxon coinage.

The coins of the sole or chief monarchs not admitting of any doubt as to the correctness of their appropriation, and not exhibiting any field for discussion, I have only thought it necessary to present the reader with lists of such mints and moneyers and their respective varieties as have occurred since the publication of RUDING, or have escaped the researches of that learned writer, the greater portion of these were furnished by the hoards or parcels of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Ireland during the last few years, and most of the remainder by Mr. CUFF from his very splendid and extensive collection.

In the work now submitted to the reader, no plates are given except what are necessary to exhibit such unpublished coins as have occurred to me, but the numerous and accurate assemblage of Anglo-Saxon coins, engraved in RUDING, and the later work of Mr. HAWKINS, and to which I have in every instance referred the reader, render any further illustration even if practicable wholly unnecessary.

In concluding these remarks, the pleasing task devolves on me, of returning thanks to those, who, by the information they have furnished, have contributed so effectively to the completion of this work.

To JAMES DODSLEY CUFF, Esq. F.S.A., Bank of England, I am greatly indebted, not only for important notices and remarks, on the Anglo-Saxon coinage in general, but also, for a most extensive list of unpublished mints and moneyers, which his own splendid cabinets enabled him to furnish.

To Doctor A. SMITH, M.R.I.A., of Dublin, the soundness and closeness of whose Numismatic investigations, and the accuracy and beauty of whose drawings are so well known, I have to return my best thanks, for several drawings of unpublished coins, not only in his own cabinet, but in those of the other Dublin collectors.

To RICHARD SAINTHILL, Esq., from whose valuable cabinet, particularly rich in Anglo-Saxon coins, I have derived so much important information, and whose assistance on this, as well as on all other occasions of Antiquarian research, I have so frequently experienced, I have to return my best thanks for the assistance this work has received from him, and for the several unpublished coins which his cabinet has contributed to it.

To Colonel SEMPRONIUS STRETTON, C.B., this work is greatly indebted, and I have to thank him for numerous notices, and drawings of rare and unpublished Anglo-Saxon coins, particularly those of Anlaf and Eadgar.

To The Very Rev. H. COTTON, Dean of Lismore, I have to return thanks, for a list of unpublished moneyers from coins in his cabinet, and also, for some important communications relative to Anglo-Saxon coins.

To PETER, Esq., I feel much indebted, for the information derived from his numerous Anglo-Saxon coins, some of great variety, and for the drawings from which I am indebted to Dr. SMITH.

To REDMOND ANTHONY, Esq., Piltown, County Kilkenny, I am under many obligations, as well for numerous unpublished Anglo-Saxon coins, of the Dunbrody hoard, for which I am indebted to him, as also, for being the means of opening to me, other sources of information on this subject.

To the late lamented, HENRY BRANDRETH, Jun. Esq. F.S.A., I am indebted for notices of Heptarchic coins, and for a clever little work, on the Stycas, with which he kindly presented me.

To the Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, of Trim, and JAMES CARRUTHERS, Esq., Glencregagh near Belfast, I am indebted for the inspection of several interesting Anglo-Saxon coins; to ABRAHAM ABEL, Esq., M.R.I.A. for procuring me the inspection of a rare coin, of the Confessor, in his brothers cabinet; and to JOSEPH HUMFREYS, Esq., for drawings of coins, in the cabinet of the late Dean of St. Patrick's.

To JOHN S. COXON, Esq., EDWARD HOARE, Esq., and RICHARD MOLLOY, Esq., I have also to return thanks for notices of several unpublised mints and moneyers. I have also to return thanks to DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, Esq., of Leeds, for drawings of unpublished Anglo-Saxon coins, and for the information I have so frequently derived from his numerous and valuable observations on the Heptarchic coinage.

In concluding the list of contributors to this work, I should be most uncan- did and unfair, did I not acknowledge the very great assistance I have derived from the numerous and ably written publications of EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.S.A. and F.R.S. on Anglo-Saxon coins, in the Numismatic Journal and Chronicle, as well as in his more extensive and important work on the silver coinage of England; and I have also to thank him, for a splendid copy of the latter work, with which he was so kind as to present me. Nor should I omit, also, returning my best thanks to JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A., for similar information derived from his valuable Periodical, in which the subject of the Anglo-Saxon coinage has been so frequently and so ably discussed.

VIEW

OF

THE COINAGE OF THE HEPTARCHY.

BEFORE I proceed to consider the coins, which may be appropriated to particular princes of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy, a still more difficult task presents itself, but one of considerable importance, as relating to a very numerous and interesting class of coins, which have hitherto baffled the closest investigation.

The first coins struck by the Heptarchic princes, appear to have been the Skeattas, at least some occur, which from the names which appear on them, were evidently struck before any of the pennies yet discovered, whilst a far greater number bear evident marks of a much earlier coinage than can be ascribed to those capable of illustration, or to any of the Stycas; it also, seems probable, that they were coined by different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, as the names of several princes, particularly those of Northumberland and East Anglia occur on them; except however those which bear the names of princes, they appear to be all, more or less uncertain, and but small progress has been made, towards a perfect classification.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1827, I offered some conjectures as to the appropriation of these coins, and several very able articles by Mr. Hawkins, and others, have since appeared in the Numismatic Journal and Chronicle, and some steps towards a classification have been gained, particularly in appropriating to Northumberland those Skeattas, whose types bear so strong a resemblance to those of Edbert, Egbert, Alchred, &c.; a great deal however, still remains to be done, and I can only hope to add, a little more to the common stock of information on this very intricate subject.

The unappropriated Skeattas may be divided into three grand classes; namely, those which exhibit Roman letters, those on which the characters are Runic, and those on which no description of letters are found, and it is somewhat singular, that those bearing Roman letters, should with a very few exceptions, be more difficult to appropriate than those of either of the other two classes.

To attempt any thing like an appropriation of these coins, we must first collect as many as we can of those which will admit of interpretation, and then compare with them, those of a more doubtful description.

The only Skeattas whose appropriation is as yet admitted, are those bearing the names of the kings of Northumberland, and the contemporary Archbishops of York, and those of Beorna, king of the East-Angles; to which we may I think, add the Skeatta formerly attributed to Ethelbert, king of Kent, but which I fully agree with an ingenious writer in the Numismatic Chronicle.* L Y . H . bears the name of Ethelred, and from the antiquity of its type, can hardly be assigned to any other prince of that name, than Ethelred, king of Mercia, 675.

The numerous class of Skeattas, which in the Numismatic Journal,† I have ventured to assign to Huath, will probably be considered by many to rest on no very strong foundation; but if it be admitted, that such a prince really existed, I think there could be no question that these coins belonged to him.

Let us now bring forward such of the Skeattas, as from their strong resemblance to those I have named, may evidently be attributed to the same princes, or at least to the same kingdoms.

No. 24, of Ruding's 1st Plate, of which several varieties will be found in Plate I. of this work, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and Nos. 3, 4, of Ruding's 2nd Plate, bear on one side an animal, very similar to those which appear on the coins, bearing the names of Aldfrith, Edbert and Alchred; and I think it will be admitted that they belong to the same kingdom, and probably to the princes, who preceded Aldfrith, and it may be here remarked, that on No. 4, of this work, the letter O appears, which was perhaps intended for the initials of one of these early kings.

No. 9, of Ruding's, 26th Plate, and No. 5 of this work, from their resemblance on one side to the coins of Edbert, and on the other, to those of Archbishop Egbert, may be also assigned, to some king and Archbishop of Northumberland.

* January 1840.—† April 1838.

Nos. 6, 7 of Ruding's same Plate, evidently belong to the same kingdom, and as they bear the name of Aelnoth may be assigned to St. Alhnud, the brother of Alchred, and classed amongst the appropriated coins, and Nos. 15, 16, of Ruding's 1st Plate, may from the resemblance their obverses bear to the coins just noticed, and from the letters AEL on No. 15, and AELN on No. 16, be also assigned to the same Saint.

That Skeattas were struck by the East-Angles, is apparent from a few bearing the name of Beorna; and if we examine the doubtful and unappropriated coins of this class, we shall find several which from the circumstance of bearing a square similar to that on the coins of Beorna, and in many instances the letter A so common on coins of the East-Angles, excite a strong suspicion that they belong to this kingdom.

The first fourteen coins in Ruding's 1st Plate, and Nos. 8 to 14, No. 16 and Nos. 22 to 25 of his 2nd, are of this class, to which we may add No. 16 of Ruding's 26th Plate, and Nos. 7 to 19 of this work.

It is equally evident that the coins I have just enumerated belong to very different periods; those in Ruding's 1st Plate bearing Roman letters, and being probably of the 7th century, or at least much more ancient than those bearing the name of Beorna, whilst those of the 2nd Plate mostly bear Runic characters and appear to be struck at a much later period; indeed but for the A which occurs on so many of these coins, and the square which is found on all, I should hardly have supposed they belonged to the same kingdom; these distinctive marks however, leave I think little doubt of the correctness of this general appropriation, leaving it a matter of much more uncertainty as to what princes or ecclesiastics they should be assigned.

With respect to the class exhibited in Ruding's 1st Plate, I am almost afraid to make any nearer attempt at appropriation than that I have just given them; I cannot help however pointing the readers attention to a coincidence which the legends on a few of them present, which in appearing to denote the names of certain kings of the East Angles, would add weight to the appropriation I have ventured to give them to that kingdom.

On Nos. 5 and 6, we perceive on the reverse the letters EO, together with the letter A detached; on No. 13 the letters EADL retrograde; on No. 14 the letters AIDV; and on No. 6 of the 1st Plate to this work, the letters ELF, or ALF on one side, and VL and part of another letter on the other, together with the letter A behind the head on one side, and on looking to the list of

East Anglian kings, we find EORPWALD, 624—ETHELHERE, 654—ETHELWALD, 655—ALDVLF, 664, and ALFWALD, 683; and when we consider that all these Skeattas appear to have been struck at periods which could not be very remote from those when the princes just named reigned, that the A and the square appear to assign these coins to East Anglia, and that from their execution, they seem to have been struck in the order in which they are named, it will be admitted as affording some evidence of a claim to a place in the East Anglian series.

It may be here proper to offer some remarks on that rude and remarkable figure exhibited on the reverses of the coins just noticed, viz: Nos. 5 to 14 of Ruding's 1st Plate, and on several other Skeattas, and which has drawn from Numismatic writers opinions of so very different a nature.

Some writers have supposed this figure to represent a Bird, others a Serpent, whilst others have supposed it a rude copy of the Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, as delineated on Roman small brass of Constantine; but the mistake committed, appears to have been in supposing this figure intended to represent in every instance the same subject, for a close examination will I think satisfy us, that the rude moneyers of these Skeattas intended to delineate not only every one of the subjects mentioned, but also a copy of the human head which at least on Nos. 5—14 Ruding, appears generally intended, examples however of all these subjects may be adduced.

The figures on No. 18 of Ruding's 1st Plate, and No. 15 of the 26th, are evidently birds, as is also that on the reverse of No. 17 of 1st Plate from its resemblance to the birds on the reverses of the last 11 Nos. of the 2nd Plate.

That some of them were also intended for Serpents, is evident from the figures on Nos. 19 and 36 of Plate 1.

The Wolf on the reverse of No. 25, and a similar one engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle for April 1841, No. 3 which more perfectly illustrates the subject, make it probable that in some instances this much disputed figure was intended for a copy of the Wolf and twins.

I am satisfied however, that in the greater number of instances, this figure was intended for a human head, and particularly on the whole or the greater part of Nos. 5 to 14 Ruding 1st Plate; for if we compare the rude head on the reverse of No. 6 of this work, with Nos. 10 to 14 of those just mentioned on which the nose and eyes may be distinctly traced, we must I think come to the conclusion I have just drawn.

The coins in Ruding's 2nd Plate, which bear on one side a head with generally the letter A behind, and a square on the reverse, seem to have been struck at a much later period, and I think I can adduce evidence, that the greater portion of them are ecclesiastical.

On Nos. 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, we find certain Runic characters differing only in position, the characters are three, viz.: $\mathfrak{W} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{K}$ and a comparison of them with the Runic Alphabets, will satisfy the reader that they express the letters SAPE., the character $\mathfrak{K}$ being a monogram for SA. $\mathfrak{W}$. PE, and the whole probably denoting the name and title of St. Peter; the third character on No. 14, differs from that of those just noticed, but instead of detracting from the evidence in favour of this appropriation adds considerably to its weight, for the third character on this coin $\mathfrak{F}$ is only an E of an other, and far more unquestionable form than that on the others, which but for the Runic letters which accompany it might be taken for M.

On No. 19 of this work, which except that the legend is more full, resembles No. 8 of Ruding's 2nd Plate, is a legend $\mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{F} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{A}$, which seems to express the letters WINVFRD, and I cannot help suspecting it to be the name of the celebrated St. Wenefrede, or perhaps that of Winfrid mentioned in Rapin, Vol. 1, p. 264, as having been Abp. of Mentz, and murdered by the Pagans in 754.

Another portion of this class, Nos. 22—25 of Ruding's 2nd Plate, bears on the obverse the letters TIC., evidently Roman characters, but which appear wholly inapplicable to any Anglo-Saxon Prince, Bishop, or Saint that we are acquainted with, and I should have given up the investigation in despair, had not the discovery of certain coins amongst the Cuerdale hoard supplied us with a conjecture of some degree of probability.

On several of these coins we find the legend A CR TEN, which when we consider the religious tendency of a great number of other inscriptions on coins in the same hoard, such as Jesus Christus—Mirabilia fecit, &c., would induce us to suppose intended to express the words A CRISTO TENEO.

On the Skeattas in question, the legend TIC would appear to form the initials of a similar sentence, viz.: TENEO. IESV. CRISTO., the interpretation may appear to some as an improbable one, but it is the only one which appears to me at all satisfactory, and I shall feel extremely obliged to any one who will suggest one of greater probability.

The last class of Skeattas which seems to afford any matter for interpretation, is that which from a comparison with certain Hiberno-Danish coins, I have in my view of the coinage of Ireland, ventured to appropriate to Ivar, king of the Danes of Northumberland in 867, and of those of East-Anglia in 870.

The characters found on the Skeattas of this class, (Ruding Plate 2, No. 12,) are IMC or IMF, and I have been induced to assign them to Ivar from the occurrence of the same characters on a class of Hiberno-Danish coins, which present a remarkable similarity to Skeattas evidently of the same age and kingdom as those now under consideration.

In the coinage of Ireland, the reader will find these coins compared and examined, and although he may not consider the appropriation I have ventured to give them as very satisfactory, he must be struck with the similarity; the letters IMC I have considered as Roman, as those on the Hiberno-Danish coins unquestionably are, but the coins I have assigned to St. Peter and St. Wenefrede, and which in type bear so strong a resemblance to the Skeattas with IMC, have suggested to me another interpretation which seems to claim some degree of attention.

These coins bear Runic characters, and if the letters IMC, &c., should be considered as Runic also, the second letter being the Runic E, they may denote the name of some Saint, or perhaps of our Saviour, if the characters I have mentioned should be interpreted IES or IEC. There is a Skeatta published in the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1834, which bears on one side a head and the letters + PIS, evidently the head and title of our Saviour, and on the other a figure with a cross, and I should consider this interpretation of the coins in question as the most probable, but for the coincidence of type and letters afforded by the Hiberno-Danish coins.

Of the remainder of the Skeattas, several from their resemblance to those I have already noticed, may be considered as belonging to the same classes, viz: those from Nos. 1 to 14 of Ruding's 1st Plate, to the kings of the East-Angles, and No. 26 of 1st Plate, and Nos. 3, 4, 7, 15 of the 2nd to Northumberland; there are however, a few of those published in Ruding and Mr. Hawkins's work, which do not appear to have much connection with those I have attempted to appropriate, on these I have also a few observations to make.

Speed has in his annals of the Heptarchic princes assigned to each Kingdom particular arms or ensigns, his authority for which I have not been able to discover; but his giving to Northumberland that of a Lion, a symbol now

admitted as appearing on all the most ancient coins of that kingdom, would lead us to suppose that he was equally correct as to the ensigns of the other kingdoms.

Admitting then that such were the symbols of the Heptarchic kingdoms, and from the example of Northumberland that they were probably used on their respective coins, and finding also, that all or the greater part of these symbols frequently occur on the Skeattas, we may perhaps be able by their assistance to make some approach to an appropriation of many of these coins.

On some of the most doubtful, particularly on Nos. 18, 25, 30, 31 of Ruding's 1st Plate, No. 2 of his 26th., and Nos. 34, 35, 41, 43 of Mr. Hawkins's work we find the symbol of a Bird—and on No. 19 and Nos. 32 to 36 that of a Dragon or Dragon's head, and on referring to Speed, we find that these were the ensigns of Sussex and Wessex, and a suspicion is thus induced that the coins I have just noticed may belong to these kingdoms, to neither of which at present any coins are appropriated,* the question is an interesting one, and may lead to the right appropriation of many of these coins.

Previous writers in treating of the coins of the Heptarchic princes, have commenced with those of Kent, as the most ancient coins were generally assigned to that kingdom, the removal however to Northumberland of the coins assigned to Egbert, and the discovery of coins of Egfrid and Aldfrith, having put the latter kingdom in possession of the earliest minted coins, I shall commence with Northumberland, which for the extent as well as antiquity of its coinage is unquestionably deserving of the first place.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

EGFRID, 670.

A few Stycas bearing the name of Egfrid were discovered in 1813, and have been assigned by Ruding and subsequent writers to the Northumbrian prince of that name; this appropriation however I must confess, has never appeared to me perfectly satisfactory; the neatness of these coins, their want

* It is possible also, that some of those Skeattas which bear crosses on the reverse, such as Nos. 28 and 29 of Ruding's 1st Plate may belong to Mercia, the cross being given by Speed, as the ensign of that kingdom.

of resemblance to any of the early ones of Northumberland, and above all the world REX which occurs on them, but which we do not find on any of the numerous appropriated coins of Northumberland, before the reign of Eanred,* all incline me to consider these coins as of a later period than that of 670, and as more likely to belong to Egfrid the son of Offa, than to the Northumbrian prince of that name; as however, I have no evidence to offer decisive of the question, and as the appropriation of these coins to Northumberland, has been hitherto almost universally assented to, I shall not venture to remove them from their place amongst the coins of that kingdom.

ALDFRITH, 685.

In the Numismatic Chronicle, a work which has been the means not only of introducing to the public, but of fixing the appropriation of many an unpublished and many an uncertain coin, we find noticed for the first time two coins which after considerable discussion, were at last decided beyond question to belong to Aldfrith, king of Northumberland, who began to reign in 685.

Two coins only of this prince, one a Skeatta the other a Styca, have been as yet discovered; they both bear on one side the rude figure of an animal supposed to be a Lion, and on the other the king's name ALDFRIDVS., and it may be here observed that as the animal on these coins is similar to that on the coins bearing the names of Eadbert and Egbert, it is a strong confirmation, if indeed any were considered necessary of the right appropriation of these coins to Northumberland.

EADBERHT, 737.

For a long period the Skeattas bearing the names *Eotberehtus* and *Ecgberht*, were assigned to Egbert, king of Kent, on what grounds I never could discover, except that a Skeatta was found which seemed to belong to Ethelbert.

These coins are now generally admitted to belong to Northumberland, the appropriation having received the sanction of Mr. Hawkins, and other eminent Numismatists; but as the attribution is a new one, and goes to effect so great an alteration in the classification of the Anglo-Saxon coinage, it may be expected that I should here offer some reasons in support of it.

* The Stycas Nos. 25 and 28 of this work, although assigned to Alchred and Eardulf, are far from being unquestionable as to their appropriation.

In the first place we find that on coins exhibiting a similar animal, the names of **ALDFRIDVS** and **ALCHRED** occur, both belonging to kings in the Northumbrian series; that on coins exhibiting a figure with two crosses similar to that on those bearing the name of Ecgeberht, the name **AELVNOTIIA** appears, which seems to be that of St. Alhnud, a son of Alchred, who was murdered by the Danes, and canonized as a Saint,* and that the figure with two crosses is evidently that of an ecclesiastic, and wears a head dress similar to that on the coins of Archbishops Wulfred and Ceolnoth; and when we add to all this evidence the singular concurrence of the king's name on one side, and the Archbishops round the ecclesiastical figure on the other, an association common on Anglo-Saxon coins of that period, I think the most sceptical will be inclined to consider these coins as pertaining to king Eadberht, and his brother Egbert, Archbishop of York.

The coins of this king are of two classes, the first and most numerous bearing on one side the rude figure of an animal, and on the other, the king's name **EOTBEREHTVS** round a small cross; the second class bears on the obverse a figure standing, bearing two crosses and the Archbishops name **ECGBERHT**, and on the reverse the king's name as on the coins of the first class.

EDILWALD, 759.

In the Numismatic Chronicle for Jan. 1841, p. 154, we find engraved and described a Skeatta, which the learned and ingenious proprietor has justly assigned to this prince; it bears on one side the king's name **EDILhALD**, or as I should be more inclined to read the 5th letter U or V., **EDILVALD**, and on the reverse the Archbishops name **ECGBERHT**.

To the same prince and prelate must be assigned the Styca originally given in the Gentleman's Magazine, but which has been again engraved in p. 156, of the number of the Numismatic Chronicle just named, where also the reader will find the appropriation of both these coins to Edilwald, has been assented to by Mr. Hawkins.

There is also another coin which Mr. Hawkins has given to Alfwald, No. 108, but which seems to me rather to read **ADLVLDVS**, and to belong to Edilwald, and it may be observed that the Lion on this coin is turned a different

*Speed p. 318.

way from that on those of Alfwald, given in the two preceding numbers of Mr. Hawkins's Plates, Nos. 106 and 107, and the same way as on the coins of Alchred, and the greater part of those of Eadberht.

ALCHRED, 765.

The coins of this king which are much rarer than those of Eadberht, are of similar type to those of the 1st class of that king's coins, bearing on one side the figure of an animal, and on the other the king's name **ALCHRED**.

In Sir Andrew Fountaine's Plates, Tab. 10, No. 4, is given a Styca which that learned writer assigns to this prince, and if correctly engraved, it may possibly belong to him; it reads **ALRED REX.**, and No. 25, of the Plates to this work, so strongly resembles it, that it must follow the same appropriation, but it is not unlikely both these coins may belong to Ethelred.

ETHELRED I. 774.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for Feb. 1826, p. 114, Mr. Woolstone has described a Skeatta bearing on one side a small cross and the legend **ED+ELRED**, and on the other a similar cross, and the moneyers name **CVDCILZ**; this coin has been assigned by Mr. W. to Mercia, but I think it far more likely to belong to Northumberland, and probably to the first prince of that name, from its resemblance to the Stycas, and its differing from any of the East-Anglian coins with which we are acquainted.

ALFWALD I. 779.

Two Skeattas of similar type to those of Eadberht and Alchred, are engraved in Mr. Hawkins's Plates, Nos. 106, 107, the one reading **ELFVALV**, the other **ALEFVALD**, (the four first letters commencing from the cross on the right and the fourth last on the left,) and there can be no doubt but they are rightly appropriated to this king.

EARDVLF, 796.

Numismatic writers have greatly differed as to the appropriation of the Stycas, bearing on one side the name of this king, and on the other, that of

a moneyer. Sir A. Fountaine, considered them to belong to the Northumbrian king, Ruding seems to have regarded the name as that of a moneyer, probably from the circumstance of such a moneyers name occurring on the coins of Eanred and Ethelred, and also the occasional but rather rare occurrence of two names apparently both those of moneyers occurring on some of the Stycas, whilst Pinkerton although he has given them to a Northumbrian king, has placed them at the end of the Stycas, with the date 914, for what reason I know not, as I cannot find any Anglo-Saxon prince of that name at that period.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1828, I have given some reasons for restoring them to Northumberland, and Mr. Hawkins and other eminent Numismatists of the present day, having given them the same appropriation, we may now look on the point as clearly established; indeed from their appearance and rude workmanship, they seem evidently to be some of the earliest of the Stycas, and the absence of the word REX seems an additional proof of their antiquity, as we find that word wanting on the Skeattas of Eadberht, Alchred, &c. Most of the moneyers on this king's coins occur on those of Eanred.

VARIETIES OF KING'S NAMES.

EARDVVL
HEARDVLF
EARWILN
† EARDI REX

MONEYERS NAMES.

* EARTHVVL
EOMVND.
* ERVVL
HERRED.
ODILO
VFDNED

ALFWALD II. 808.

No coins have yet been assigned to this king, it is possible however No. 32 of this work may belong to him or to Alfwald I., its obverse seems to read AFVALID, and the reverse EANA, evidently the name of the moneyer, and No. 31 is still more likely to belong to him; the obverse is unfortunately not in good preservation, but it appears to read ELFVALDR, and the moneyer's name EADVINI, adds to the probability of the appropriation, as that name is of frequent occurrence on the Stycas of Eanred.

* Thus marked may be intended for the king's name repeated on the reverse.—† The appropriation of this coin is not certain.

EANRED, 810.

The Stycas of this prince are extremely numerous, but require no particular observations, a silver Penny however occurs with the name of Eanred, which has afforded more materials for controversy than perhaps any other coin in the Anglo-Saxon series.

This coin is by Ruding given to the Northumbrian king, but the appropriation has met with many dissentients; Mr. Haigh has in the Numismatic Chronicle for July 1839, p. 50, and April 1841, p. 37, advanced reasons for inserting it in the East-Anglian series, and Mr. Hawkins p. 41, has considered it to belong to some neighbour and contemporary of the Mercian kings, Berhtulf and Burgred.

I confess however I cannot perceive any strong reasons for excluding this coin from the Northumbrian series; we there find a well known prince who reigned 31 years, whilst no such name occurs amongst the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, nor is it at all likely that except in East-Anglia any unknown king could have reigned in England at the time this coin was struck, which seems to have been between the beginning and middle of the 9th century, in fact about the time the Northumbrian Eanred reigned; much importance has been attached to the circumstance of the moneyer's name THES, not being found on any of the extremely numerous Stycas of Eanred, but its being of a different metal and denomination may account for this, and it is possible that the conjecture of a late young but talented and ingenious author, Mr. Brandreth, that these letters may have formed part of the word *Thesaurarius*, and that the letter considered as M may be W, the initial of Wessex, may have been correct; I think therefore I should not be warranted in removing this coin from Northumberland without evidence much stronger than any that has been yet adduced.

Mr. Haigh has seen in the cabinet of Dr. Moore, of Preston, a *Skeatta* of Eanred exactly resembling the Stycas, the moneyer's name is HVATRED, one of those often occurring on the Stycas.

VARIETIES OF KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

EANRED

____ REX

____ RE

EANRED R.

____ REIX.

____ RX

VARIETIES OF MONEYPERS NAMES.

ALDATES.	EANRED.	HERRED
† ALFHEARD.	—— I.	HERRETH
* BADIGILS.	EARRDVVLF	HVATRED.
BROADER.	* EDILVARD	MONNE
BRODER.	* ERWINNE	* ODILO
BRODR.	FOLCNOD	* TEVEH
† BROER.	FVLCNOD	THES. (on the Penny)
* CVDHARD.	FORDRED	* TIDVINI
* CVNVVLF.	GADVTEIS	VVLFHEARD.
DAEGBERCT	GADVTEIS	VVLFRED
EADVINI.	HEARDVLF	* VILHEAH
* EADVVLFF.	HEARETHI	* WINTRED
* EODVVLF.	HERREDA	

Together with an immense variety of blundered readings of the king's name and those of the moneyers, caused by the omission or transposition of one or more of the letters composing them.

ETHELRED II. 841.

The Stycas of this king are still more numerous than those of Eanred, and far more than those of any other Anglo-Saxon prince, and their workmanship much superior to that of any others of the Stycas; on some of them we find as Mr. Hawkins has justly observed an evident improvement in the coinage, various ornaments being introduced particularly by the moneyer *Leofdegn*, on some of whose Stycas an animal is exhibited, which Mr. Hawkins seems to consider as uncertain, but which I have no doubt (whatever animal it may in reality resemble,) was certainly intended for the same which appears on the earlier Northumbrian coins, and which if any reliance can be placed on the Arms or Ensigns of the Anglo-Saxons given by Speed was probably a Lion.

Mr. Hawkins, p. 43, has noticed the coins bearing EANREDR on one side, and AEILREDR on the other, and those with EDILRED REX, on one side, and AEILREDR on the other, and suggested the possibility of Eanred and Ethelred having at one time reigned conjointly; the supposition is an ingenious one and demands our close investigation.

* Thus marked are not in Ruding's list; most of them however occur on the additional coins engraved in the last edition.—† Probably VVLFHEARD—‡ Probably BRODER.

The records of this period of Northumbrian history are unfortunately scanty and throw no light on the subject, but the Stycas of both Eanred and Ethelred are numerous and of such infinite variety in types, legends and moneyers, as to enable us with a considerable degree of certainty to decide the question.

In Plate Q., Nos. 16 to 20 of the new edition of Ruding, we find five Stycas, the three first bearing on the obverse, the legend EDILRED . REX., and the two last AEILREDR, and all having on the reverse the name ANRED ; it is therefore nearly certain that the latter must be that of a moneyer, the word REX being wanting, for if Eanred and Ethelred reigned together, that word would certainly not have been appended to the sons name, and omitted after the fathers. Having established the existence of such a moneyer, it will not be too much to suppose that the words EANRED and EANREDI, which so frequently appear on reverses of Ethelred, belong to the same person.

Mr. Hawkins has also suggested that the name AEILREDR which appears on a coin with EANREDR, and also on another, with EDILRED . REX, may possibly have been that of some prince who reigned jointly at first with Eanred, and afterwards with Ethelred ; this supposition appears more probable and more difficult to combat than the former, but the numerous blunders which the Stycas exhibit, forbid us to attach much importance to the addition or absence of a single letter, and much greater mistakes have been committed than that of adding an R to the moneyers name EANRED, or that of omitting a D in the name of AEDILRED.

Mr. Hawkins, No. 123, has published a Skeatta of this prince, resembling the Stycas and bearing on the obverse AEDILREDR, and on the reverse the moneyer's name CVDHEARD ; this name appears on the Stycas of Eanred and Ethelred II., and the R at the end of the king's name, is an additional reason for supposing it to belong to this king and not to Ethelred I.; the Skeatta noticed by Mr. Woolstone, on the contrary wants the R, and the moneyer's name CVDCILZ, is not found on any of the numerous Stycas of Ethelred II.

VARIETIES OF KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

AEDELRED . REX	EDILRED RE	EDILRED R .
AEDILRED .	_____ R .	ETHELRED REX
_____ REX .	_____ RX .	_____ RE .
_____ RX	EDILRED .	_____ RX .
ADELRED . REX .	_____ REX	ETHILRED
EDELRED REX	_____ RE .	_____ REX .

VARIETIES OF MONEYPERS NAMES.

* AILREDA	EANRED	† INRED
ALDHERE	_____ I	LEOFDEGN
ALGHERE	EARDVLF	§ LEOGDEGN
ANRAD	EARDWLF	MONNE
BRODER	EDILREED	ODILO
BROTHER	* ELEHOIH	OLDVN
CEOLBALD	* † ENDELBERH	TIDVLF
* COENRED	* ENWVLF	VBRODR
CVDHEARD	* ERWINNE	VENDELBERHT
* CVNEMVND	FORDRED	VINTRED
* EADINNE	* GADVTE	WINTRED
EADMVND	* HIGHERE	* WLFSIC
EANBALD	HVNLAFL	WLFRED

BESIDES SEVERAL BLUNDERED VARIETIES.

REDVLF, 844.

The Stycas of this king which are scarce, are some of them very neatly executed, whilst others are much ruder than any of the coins of his predecessor; they almost always bear the word REX.

VARIETIES OF KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

REDVLF REX.

_____ RE.

_____ RX.

REDWLF REX.

REDVL REX.

REDVI.

VARIETIES OF MONEYPERS NAMES.

ALGHERE

BRODER

BROTHER.

COENED.

CVDBERCHT

EANRED.

FORDRED

* ¶ HVAETNDD

* HVNLAFL

MONNE

VENDELBERHT

OSBERCHT, 848.

The Stycas of Osbercht which are still rarer than those of Redulf, afford more varieties of type but fewer of moneypers, and the legends are placed in a

* Not in Ruding's list.—† Probably VENDELBERHT.—‡ Perhaps for ANRED.—§ For LEOFDEGN.

¶ For HVAETRED.

very irregular manner, the letters being often turned upside down, and the entire legend sometimes turned to or resting on the edge of the coin; one or two letters of the word REX (but seldom the entire,) are generally added to the king's name which is spelt in various ways.

In the large hoard of 8 or 10,000 Stycas found at Hexham in 1833, none of this king's coins occurred.

VARIETIES OF KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

OSBERCHT.
 _____ REX
 _____ RE
 _____ EX
 OSBVEHT. REX.
 OSBEREHT.
 OSBERH. R.

VARIETIES OF MONEYES NAMES.

EANVLF
 EANWLF
 MONNE
 VINIBEGHT
 VINIBERHT.

ELLA, 862.

A few Stycas have been assigned to this king, one of which is engraved in the new edition of Ruding, Plate E, No. 1, from a coin in the possession of Mr. Willett.

On one side of this coin, the two first letters are AL or ÆL, the two next letters from falling on the edge of the coin uncertain, and the three last ERE; whilst on the other side the legend is clearly AEDILRED.

A comparison however of this coin, with a large class of those of Ethelred, will I think satisfy us that this Styca belongs to the last named prince.

In the new edition of Ruding, Plate Q., Nos. 6, 13, &c., we find Stycas bearing the king's name, spelt AEDILRED, like the same name on the coins in question, and without the word REX., and on the reverses we find the moneyers name ALDHERE and ALGHERE, and if we compare these latter names with that supposed to be ÆLLAERE, we shall find all the unclipped letters to correspond, whilst the two clipped letters, that is the 3rd and 4th are more likely to be DH than any others. We may therefore I think fairly conclude, that the name AEDILRED, is that of the king, and that supposed to be ÆLLAERE, that of the moneyer ALDHERE.

Having thus disposed of this specimen of the coins assigned to this king, it remains for us to examine that described by Mr. Adamson, and here the

reasons advanced by Mr. Hawkins, p. 44, may be considered as conclusive, namely that this coin formed part of the Hexham hoard, amongst which not one of the Stycas of Osbert, or Archbishop Vulfhere occurred, from which we may conclude that this hoard was deposited many years before the accession of Aella in 862; and that from the blundering transposition of the letters, the legend must be considered as uncertain; we may therefore consider these coins as blundered or imperfect coins of Ethelred.

SIHTRIC, 915.

In Lord Pembroke's Plates, Plate 1, No. 6, is given a coin which if genuine and rightly engraved, there can be no doubt belongs to this prince, and not to any of the Hiberno-Danish princes of the same name; the type on both sides, and the moneyers name, are exactly similar to those of a coin of Anlaf, (with triquetra) given in the same Plate, No. 8.

REGNALD, 918.

Only two specimens are known which can unquestionably be given to this king, one given in Ruding, Plate XI., the other in Hawkins, No. 126; they are of quite different types, and both similar to coins of Anlaf: that in Ruding bears a cross Moline, reverse a small cross, the other a Triquetra reverse the Danish Standard, the moneyer of the former is AVRA, that of the latter which is broken, BA:::C, probably BALDRIC, who was a moneyer of Eadmund.

There is also another class of coins which has been lately assigned to this prince, and which in this place therefore demands our notice.

The appropriation of these coins to Regnald was first suggested by a learned and ingenious writer L. Y. H., in an article in the Numismatic Chronicle for July 1839, who has discovered that on certain coins supposed to be ecclesiastical, and given in Ruding, Plate 30, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Plate E, Nos. 2, 3 of the new edition, the name of Regnald may be traced, and he considers these coins to belong to the Northumbrian king of that name.

A close examination and comparison of these coins must I think satisfy every one that the rude name exhibited on them is intended for Regnald or

Ragenalt, but whether intended for the king of that name or for a Saint or Archbishop is a point much more questionable.

It appears from historical accounts that Regnald reigned from 918 to 944, and that there was an Archbishop of York called by the various names of Redward, Lodeward, and Rumwald who possessed the See of York from 922 to 942, and the time when these coins were struck was apparently about the earlier part of the 10th century; it is therefore no small addition to our perplexity on this occasion that the king and the Archbishop should have occupied nearly the same period of history, as well as flourished in the same kingdom of the Heptarchy.

The monogram which appears on most of them, might be supposed to throw some light on the appropriation of these coins, but it is possible as the learned writer of the article alluded to observes that the person who fabricated them copied the device (which certainly on some does appear to be *Carlus*,) without knowing its meaning.

The only additional evidences afforded by these coins, are an attempt at the word EBORACECIV, which appears on some, and the moneyers name EARIC.FCT. which appears on others; the former whilst it would go to prove that these coins were struck at York, would leave it still doubtful whether they belong to the king or to the Archbishop, that city being the capital of the kingdom of the former, and of the diocese of the latter.

The moneyers name EARIC if of any weight would seem to suggest a very different appropriation for these coins, and to make it not unlikely they may belong to the French king Raoul, or some other foreign prince, for on a coin of the class of St. Peter's Pennies in the 2nd Plate of this work we find on one side LVDO SIPR, and on the reverse ERIC MOTI, a legend which would almost incline us to suspect that the moneyer *Eric*, struck these coins for the French king's *Raoul* and his successor *Louis* d'outre mer, having copied the monogram *Carlus*, from the coins of Charles the simple, whose reign terminated only one year before that of Raoul commenced.

That these coins however were not minted in France seems probable from the attempt at the name EBORACE which appears on some of them, and altogether we can hardly avoid concluding that they were of the class of St. Peter's Pennies minted in York by ignorant artists who copied the types, monograms, and possibly the names from other coins of different descriptions.

LEGENDS AND TYPES WHICH APPEAR ON THEM.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	RUDING.
+ RANOCLT—a hand.	+ EIOACE CA—a monogram.	Pl. 30, No. 1.
RAGHIOIAT—a cross calvary.	+ RABIOCIT—a bow and arrow.	————— 2.
+ RAGENALT—a head.	+ EARIC FCT—a monogram.	————— 4.
Do. Do.	Do, Do.	Pl. E, No. 2.
+ RACHOLT—a hand.	EIORACII—a monogram.	————— 3.

ANLAF.

The Anglo-Saxon coins bearing the name of Anlaf are not easy to appropriate, there being at least two of this name who may lay claim to the coins in question, and the great diversity of types which occur on them considerably increase the difficulty; it will be necessary therefore first to distinguish the princes of this name and the periods they reigned in Northumberland, and then to ascertain by a comparison of the types of the coins themselves with those of other Anglo-Saxon monarchs of this period of history, at what period the coins themselves were struck.

During the period of history commencing with the death of Sihtric in 927, and ending with the restoration of Eric in 952, the name of Anlaf frequently occurs.

The first we meet with is Anlaf the son of Sihtric, who with his brother Godfrith and his nephew Regnald the son of Godfrith were expelled by Athelstan in 927.

That this is the same prince who again reigned in Northumberland in 943 to 944, is I believe universally admitted, but a considerable degree of doubt seems to exist as to whether the Anlaf *Cwyran* who arrived in Northumberland after the first expulsion of Eric in 949 was the same person or not, and although no evidence conclusive of this point has occurred to me, that he was the same person appears extremely probable from the following circumstance.

In the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 944, we find "some of the Kenanus people were killed by *Olave Quaran*," and as this was the very year in which Anlaf the son of Sihtric was expelled from Northumberland, it seems extremely probable that the latter and Olave Quaran were the same person, and when we consider that the Danes of Ireland and Northumberland when expelled from one country, almost invariably took refuge in the other, and that the name

Cwyran which has been derived from the word *cyrran* to return, would be peculiarly applicable to a prince who returned to Northumberland in 943 and 949, and to Ireland in 944, we may I think conclude that they were actually the same.

The only other Northumbrian prince to whom the coins in question could be appropriated, is the celebrated Anlaf the son of Godfred, king of the Danes of Ireland, who was defeated by Athelstan in 938, at Brunanburgh, and was afterwards from 941 to 943 king of Northumberland.

Let us now consider the coins in question, and endeavour to ascertain at what periods they were struck.

The coins bearing a Triquetra on one side, and a figure supposed to be a standard on the other, (Ruding, No. 2, Hawkins, No. 128,) are so completely similar to those of Sihtric, (Lord Pembroke's Plate 1, No. 6,) and Regnald (Hawkins, No. 126,) that they all evidently belong to the same period, which was most probably from 915 to 927; this class may therefore be assigned to Anlaf the son of Sihtric.

The 2nd class are those which bear a cross Moline on one side, and a small cross on the other, (Ruding, No. 4.) These coins from their resemblance to that of Regnald given in Ruding, may be considered as struck about the same time as the latter, which was probably 943—4, when Anlaf and Regnald were both restored to the Northumbrian kingdom.

The coin engraved in Mr. Hawkins's work, p. 46, may be considered as belonging to the same time and to the same prince.

The coins with the Danish Raven seem evidently to belong to the same prince, but whether struck before 927, or in 943—4, is uncertain, but probably the former period.

Those with ONLAF or ONLOF, Ruding Nos. 5, 6, 7, from their resemblance to those of Eric, would seem to have been struck after the return of Anlaf in 949.

Admitting therefore Anlaf the son of Sihtric, and Anlaf Quaran to be the same person, all these different classes of the coins of Anlaf appear to have been struck by him.

One class of the coins bearing the name of Anlaf remains still to be considered, viz: that with a Flower on the reverse, (Ruding, No. 3,) and if any coins are likely to belong to Anlaf the son of Guthfrith, these seem to be the

most so; they differ as to legend from the early coins of those classes before noticed, in bearing the word REX instead of CVNVNC, and from the later coins in having ANLAF instead of ONLAF, but their strong resemblance to coins of Edward the Elder, would rather favour their appropriation to Anlaf the son of Sihtric, to which we may add that the moneyers name *Ingelgar*, seems to connect them with the other classes.

A few authors have appeared to think it probable that those with the Triquetra, whether of Sihtric, Regnald, or Anlaf, may belong to Irish princes of those names, but I perfectly agree with LYH, whose valuable article relative to these coins in the Numismatic Chronicle for July 1839, p. 7, has thrown much light on the coins themselves, as well as on the period of history to which they belong, that all these coins belong to Northumberland.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF ANLAF.

1. Danish Raven, Reverse, Small Cross.
2. Triquetra, ——— Danish Standard.
3. Small Cross or Rose, a Flower.
4. Cross Moline, ——— Small Cross.
5. Small Cross on both sides.
6. Do. Reverse, Moneyers name in two lines.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
ANLAF CVNVNC	1 . 2 . 4	ANLAF . REX . EBR.	3
————— F	2 .	————— TOD.	3
————— I	1	ONLAF . REX	6
————— O	5	————— O.	5
————— IL or UL... ..	1 . 2	————— R...D	5
ANLAF REX . A	3	ONLOF . REX . I....	6

MONEYERS NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
ATHELFERD	1	† FARMAN.	2	* RADVLF.	3 . 5
ATHEFERD		FARN.		RATHVLF	4
BACIALER	6	INGELGAR	3 . 5 . 6	* SICARES	5
EAGMON.		RADVLEF	3	WADTER	3
FAMAN.					

* Not in Ruding's list.—† On most coins it seems to read FARHAN.

ERIC.

The coins of Eric which are all rare require but few observations; they are of two types, one with and the other without the Sword; on the latter the letter N, the initial of the kingdom is added to the king's name, and on one in my own cabinet, the letters NO, the crescents being omitted; two others one with TO, and the other with A, are noticed by Mr. Hawkins, p. 47.

The coin in the cabinet of the late Dean of St. Patrick's, bearing on one side the legend ERICM. OTI., may possibly belong to this king, but I think it far more likely to belong to the class of St. Peter's Pennies.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF ERIC.

1. Sword,..... Reverse, small Cross,
2. Small Cross,..... ——— Moneyers name in two lines.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

	TYPE.	
ERIC . REX	1	ERIC . REXTO
———— N	2	ERICVS REXA.
———— NO.	2	

MONEYERS NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
ACVLF.....	1	INGAELGAR....	1	INGELGAR.	1.2
HVNRED		INEGELGAR....	1	RADVLF.	

Before I take leave of the Northumbrian series, it will be necessary to notice those much disputed coins, the class of Skeattas attributed to Huth or Huath king of Northumberland.

The first person who discovered evidence of the existence of such a king, was Sir H. Ellis, who in the Numismatic Journal for October 1837, quoted a passage from Brompton, in which such a king is said to have reigned in Northumberland from 952 to 955, and also introduced to the notice of the public a Styca which appeared to read HVAT . REX .

As to the Styca just mentioned, Mr. Hawkins has I will admit, proved the probability of its being a coin of *Eanred*, on which the moneyers name

HVATRED from a defect in the last letter, was read by Sir H. Ellis in the manner just mentioned; I do not think however that Mr. Hawkins has equally succeeded in disproving the existence of such a prince as Huth.

Whether the Eric of the Saxon Chronicle and the Huth of Brompton are the same person, seems to be a very uncertain point, but as Eric at one time is said to have fled to Scotland, it is possible the Northumbrians may have put another of the numerous sons of Harald in his place, and Sir F. Palgrave, p. 231, mentions that after the assassination of Eric, another Danish chieftain assumed the royal title, 952 to 954.

The point however is a doubtful one, but if the existence of such a prince as Huath could be authenticated, I should be strongly inclined to attribute to him the Skeattas in question.

In the Plates of this work, No. 23, I have given one of the most perfect specimens I have met with of these coins; it exhibits on the obverse the letters MVA, read from which at each side are the letters HVAT, and on the reverse the letters OMO, with the same legend read in the same manner, but on one side the letters V and A transposed; the same legend also appears on almost all the coins of this class, with the exception of an occasional omission or transposition of one or two of the letters, caused by the blundering of the moneyer; and it may be here remarked, that a coin of Edred, (who reigned at the same period of history with Eric and the supposed Huth,) Ruding, Pl. 19, No. 11, bears the word MON instead of REX., and like the coins assigned to Huth, has a *large annulet* on each side of the cross; there is also a Skeatta (Ruding, Pl. 2, No. 26,) of the same class, but wanting the bird over the cross, which has a large E behind the head, and which may possibly belong to Eric.

This latter coin however seems to support another interpretation of the coins in question, and which to many of my readers may probably appear better founded than that just advanced.

On the coins of the early French kings, which in size and appearance very much resemble the Skeattas we are speaking of, the moneyers name frequently occurs without that of the king, similar examples may also be adduced from the Anglo-Saxon coins, particularly those bearing the moneyers names *Swefnerd* and *Sigestef*, and a few of Alfred, one of which bearing the name *Heribert* will be found in the plates of this work. If then we

consider the name HVAT, as that of a moneyer, and the letters MVA or MO as his designation, we may suppose them to belong to some other king, and the coin just noticed, (Ruding, Pl. 2, No. 26,) may assist us in conjecturing his name, for on looking to the obverse of this coin, we find behind the head the letter E, and before it an A, and when we consider that HVATRED was one of Eanred's moneyers, and the *only one* of whom any *Skeatta* appears, it seems not improbable that these Skeattas may belong to Eanred, king of Northumberland, to whose Penny these coins bear in type a considerable resemblance.

For myself I confess I do not attach any high degree of probability to either attribution, they however both seem worthy of consideration, and I leave to the ingenious reader to adopt either conjecture or to suggest a better.

MERCIA.

Having considered the coins of Northumberland, the next in point of antiquity and importance, are those of Mercia, of which we have a few specimens nearly as ancient as those of Egfrid and Aldfrith; Mercia also presents us with the first struck Pennies yet discovered in the Anglo-Saxon series, and its coins are altogether more certain as to their appropriation, and of more variety and interest than those of any other of the Heptarchic kingdoms.

Until the last few years, Numismatists have been accustomed to commence the Mercian series with the coins of Eadvald, who was by them considered to be the same person as Ethelbald, whose name appears in the list of Mercian kings.

The discovery is however due to Mr. Haigh, that these coins have been improperly appropriated, and that they belong to a king of East Anglia, whose name has not descended to us; and as this arrangement is now generally assented to, I shall proceed to the consideration of such coins as may with more propriety be attributed to this kingdom, reserving the reasons for the removal of the coins of Eadvald until we come to their proper place in the East-Anglian series.

The coins placed next to those of Eadvald are those of Offa, who began to reign in 757, but I think I can with a very high degree of probability commence the Mercian series with a much earlier king.

ETHELRED, 675.

In Ruding, Pl. 3, No. 1, and Hawkins, No. 50, we find a coin which has been generally assigned to Ethelbert king of Kent; this coin bears on the obverse the rude figure which has given occasion for so much dispute, and on the reverse the legend EDILIREIX., and the reason it has been assigned to Kent, was probably because the *Skeattas* bearing the names of Eadberht, Ecgberht and Alchred, were formerly assigned to that kingdom; at least I cannot conceive any other reason, for the name *Ethelbert* certainly does not appear on it, and the legend must be construed either EDILIREX or EDILIRED, and if the former, the first five letters would form only a part of a name, and would apply as well to Ethelwald, Ethelhere, Ethelred, Edilwalch, and several other names as to Ethelbert; I perfectly agree however with a learned and ingenious writer L. Y. H., in the Numismatic Chronicle for Jan. 1840, that EDILIRED is the proper reading, for on a close examination of these coins it seems probable that the letters IX, were by the rude and ignorant artist who formed them intended for a D, but by the slipping of the graver in his attempts to form a circular stroke, the letter X was formed; it also seems to me rather unlikely, that any artist however rude, would be content with exhibiting the first half only of the king's name, particularly where it was common to so many other names of Anglo-Saxon kings, and would have been productive of so much uncertainty; and when we add to this, that the word REX is seldom if ever found on the very early Anglo-Saxon coins, of which this is evidently one of the earliest, it will I think be considered as more than probable that this coin must be read EDILIRED.

Having thus established the strong probability that these coins belong to a prince named Ethelred, it remains for us to ascertain to which of the princes of that name they are most likely to belong.

Amongst the Heptarchic princes we find five of that name, viz: one in Mercia who began to reign in 675, two in East-Anglia who began to reign in 714 and 761, and two in Northumberland who began to reign in 774 and 841.

From the rude and very ancient appearance of these coins, they must as I have said have been some of the earliest of the *Skeattas*, and apparently much older than those of Beorna, the predecessor of the only one of the other princes, to whom there is the least possibility of their belonging; we may therefore with the strongest appearance of probability assign these coins of which only two specimens are extant to the Mercian Ethelred.

OFFA, 757.

The coins of this prince for neatness of workmanship and variety of types and ornament, are far superior to those of any other of the Heptarchic princes, indeed such is their variety, that as Mr. Hawkins has justly observed, although Offa's coins are numerous, every single type is rare, and the ornaments of so complex a nature, as to render it extremely difficult to describe or class them; on a close examination of them however they appear to present several leading features or distinguishing objects, which (rejecting the minor adjuncts,) will enable us to divide them into several tolerably distinct classes.

Several of our most distinguished Numismatists are of opinion, that the greater part of Offa's coins, particularly those with his bust, were executed by workmen whom he brought with him on his return from Italy, and several of the types copied from the contemporary ones of that country.

That some of the coins of this prince were the work of Italian artists, and copied from the coins of Italy, I will readily admit, but the great variety and extent of his coinage makes it highly improbable, where his reign was nearly forty years, that the great bulk of his coinage should have been the produce of the two last; the coins with his bust were however in all probability struck in the latter part of his reign, for from a comparison of his types and moneyers with those of his successor Coenwulf, it appears that the names of those moneyers who worked for both, appear principally on those coins of Offa, which bear his bust; it must be admitted however that the names of those moneyers which appear on the coins of both are not very numerous, not amounting to more than six, of which four occur on those with the portrait, and all on some of the most ornamented types; this would render it probable that most of the moneyers of Offa worked for him long before the end of his reign.

Ruding supposes from the inferiority of workmanship which the coins of his successor exhibit, that on the death of Offa his Italian artists ceased to work, but the work of the moneyers Ciolhard, Dud, Eoba, and Lulla is some of the very best which the coins of Offa exhibit, and these are four out of the six names which occur on the coins of Coenwulf; it may be also observed that almost all the names of Offa's moneyers appear more like Saxon than Italian names, and indeed a great number of them occur on the coins of other Anglo-Saxon

princes, and altogether it is far more probable that the great encouragement given by Offa, and the want of it by his successor was the principal cause of the great inferiority of the coins of the latter.

No coins of the Penny form have been found which can with certainty be attributed to any earlier Anglo-Saxon prince, and Mr. Haigh with much appearance of probability supposes that form to have been adopted by Offa from the Italian and other Continental coins, and the types exhibited on them, together with the fact that the coinage of the contemporary kings of North-umberland, East-Anglia, and probably Wessex were of the Skeatta and Styca form afford considerable weight to this supposition.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF OFFA.

1. King's bust—reverse, a small ornamented Cross within an inner circle.
2. King's bust—reverse, an ornamented Cross within a large cruciform compartment.
3. King's bust—reverse, a small Cross within a square, all within a large cruciform compartment.
4. King's bust—reverse, a small Cross, the compartment composed of branches proceeding from the angles of the square.
5. King's bust—reverse, a long ornamented Cross.
6. King's bust—reverse, an ornamented square within a large square or lozenge.
7. King's bust—reverse, moneyers name in a wreath.
8. King's bust—reverse, a Serpent coiled.
9. King's bust, the head surmounted by a Serpent—reverse, a small Cross between four circles, each containing one or two letters of the moneyers name.
10. Without bust, king's name in the field—reverse, a small square within a large cruciform compartment.
11. Without bust, king's name in the field—reverse, moneyers name in the field.
12. Without bust, king's name in the field—reverse, an oblong ornament rounded at both ends.
13. Without bust, king's name in the field—reverse, moneyers name in the field.
14. Without bust, king's name in the field—reverse, moneyers name round a small cruciform compartment.
15. Without bust, king's name in the field—reverse, moneyers name in a compartment.
16. Without bust, king's name in the field—reverse, moneyers name on or round a cross.
17. Without bust, king's name round an inner circle—reverse, moneyers name in the field.
18. Without bust, a Cross—reverse, moneyers name sometimes in a compartment.
19. Without bust, a Cross of various shapes—reverse, a Cross of various shapes.
20. Without bust, a small square with ornaments—reverse, two triangles intersecting one another.
21. Without bust, a large square or lozenge—reverse, moneyers name in the field.
22. Without bust, king's name at the sides of a square—reverse, moneyers name in four circular compartments.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

TYPES.	TYPES.
OFFA 5. 19.	OFFA . REX . MERCIORV 6.
—— REX 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. 13.	—— RX . M 16.
20. 21. 22.	OFA . REX 18. 19
—— M 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.	OF . RX 4. 18.
—— MERCIOR. 5.	OF . REX . M . on both sides 3.

MONEYERS NAMES.

TYPES.	TYPES.	TYPES.
AELRED	EALMVND 6	* LVL 15
ALHMVN	EALMVNTH	LVLLA 1
ALHMOVND .. 5. 7. 18. 19	EALRED 3	OETHELRES 5. 19
ALHMOVTH	* EALRVED .. 2	OHLMOVND
BABBA 13. 18. 19	* EDELMOD .. 13	OSMOD 19
* BANNARD.	* EDELNOD .. 12. 15.	OTER
BEANEARD .. 11	ETHELNOTH	REDWIN
* BERNEA 19	† EOBA 5. 12. 15. 16.	UDD 1
BERNEARD	19. 22	VINTRED 10
CELHARD	ETHELVALD 13	WINTRED 16. 19
CIOLHARD .. 8	ETHILVALD 1	WINRED
DVD 1	FEHTVALD	* WENDRED 9
EADBERHT .. 18. 21	HEABER ... 19	WINOTH 13. 16
EADMVN 5. 20	† IBBA 4	WLNOTH
EADMVVN ... 5	† INONNG ... 12	WENVALD 2. 19
* EALHMOVND .. 14	INOTH	

There is a coin given in Wise, Pl. 17, with the moneyers name BOTRED in Runic characters.

CENETHRETH.

Until the last few years the coins bearing the name of Cenethreth were admitted without question to belong to the queen of Offa; a few writers of distinction however have lately entertained the supposition that they may belong to Quendrida the daughter of Coenwulf who having cruelly murdered her brother Cenelm attempted to possess herself of the Mercian throne.

* Not in Ruding's lists.—† Moneyers name on obverse and king's on reverse.—‡ This seems to read INONNTH.

The utility of ancient coins in elucidating historical questions involved in doubt or obscurity is certainly great, and where historical records are as imperfect as most of the Anglo-Saxon are, I should be often inclined to prefer the evidence afforded by their coins to that furnished by their annals; but in this instance, the evidence of the coins and that of history are at the same side, for the former bear proof positive of having been struck in the reign of Offa, whilst history tells us that the daughter of Coenwulf was unable to secure the prize for which she had perpetrated the murder of her brother, for that the Mercians raised Ceolwulf to the throne.

The connection between these coins and some of those of Offa, is indeed most remarkable; Nos. 1 and 2, Ruding, are not only the work of Eoba, one of Offa's principal moneyers, but there is a similarity in the type and disposition of the moneyers name, which leaves not a doubt that these coins were minted at the same time with those of Offa, which in so remarkable a manner bear the moneyers name on the same side, with the king's portrait. No. 3, Ruding, also bears a much stronger resemblance to the coins of Offa than to those of Coenwulf, and altogether these coins afford the most unanswerable evidence that they belong to the queen of Offa, and not to the daughter of Coenwulf.

The portrait has by some been considered as that of Offa, but besides that it appears much more feminine than that on the coins of Offa, it wants the diadem or vitta which appears on a great many of that prince's coins.

On some of this queen's coins her name is spelt *Cynethryth*, which was probably her right name, on the others the letter which appears to be E, may also perhaps be intended for Y.

No other example occurs of a queen's name or portrait appearing on Anglo-Saxon coins, but the masculine spirit of this ambitious princess and the great influence she possessed over her husband would appear to account for so unusual a circumstance.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF CENETHRETH.

1. Queen's bust with moneyer's name—reverse, M within an inner circle; Queen's name outside.
2. M within an inner circle, Queen's name outside—reverse moneyer's name in a large quatrefoil.

QUEEN'S NAME AND TITLE.

CENETHRETH REGINA.

* CYNETHRYTH REGINA.

MONEYERS NAMES.

TYPES.

EOBA, 1

OBA, 2

} Perhaps the same person.

Whether any coins can with propriety be assigned to the son of Offa is very questionable; a few pennies have been attributed to him by Ruding and several subsequent writers of eminence, who have considered the occurrence on these coins of the names *Babba* and *Udd* two of Offa's moneyers as sufficient evidence; instances however are not wanting of the same names of moneyers appearing on the coins of contemporary princes of the Heptarchy, whilst the inferiority of the workmanship of these coins to those of Offa, and the fact that the son of Offa is invariably called in the Anglo-Saxon annals Egfrid and not Ecgbert, make it far more probable they were struck by the great West-Saxon monarch before he extended his conquests over so many other kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

The Stycas bearing the name of Egfrid I have before noticed, and although as I have already observed, I have not ventured on my own authority to remove them from Northumberland, I think they are far more likely to belong to Mercia than the coins bearing the name of Ecgbert.

COENWULF, 796.

The coins of this prince are nearly as numerous as those of Offa, they do not however exhibit as many varieties of type or ornament, and in point of workmanship are far inferior, indeed their rudeness is so remarkable as contrasted with those of that prince, that we can scarcely account for the difference between coins apparently the work of the same artists; the peaceable reign of Offa however, and the troubles and wars in which Mercia was involved under Coenwulf, must have caused some decline in the arts even such as they were at that rude period, for under the princes who succeeded Coenwulf, and whose reigns were still more troublesome, we perceive the coinage falling into a state of still greater rudeness and barbarism.

* Mr. Hawkins supposes the name to be on all her coins CYNETHRYTH.

It is not easy to determine whether the coins of this prince with his bust were earlier struck than those without it, the probability is they were concurrent, and executed according to the taste or skill of the artist, but there is one of his coins which is valuable in a historical point of view; it is given in Ruding, No. 6, and bears on the reverse the large A the symbol of the East-Angles, and whilst it would imply that Coenwulf was at one time ruler of that kingdom, the moneyers name *Wintred* which appears on it and also on the coins of Eadvald, would seem to denote that the latter prince was king of East-Anglia, and that the Mercian princes who succeeded Offa although they often were successful in their attempts to subdue the East-Anglian kingdom, were far from possessing the authority over that kingdom which the silence of history as to its rulers would imply, but which the coins of Eadvald, Beorthric and Ethelweard so fully contradict.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF COENWULF.

1. King's bust—reverse, a short Cross within an inner circle.
2. King's bust—reverse, a short Cross without inner circle.
3. King's bust—reverse, a long Cross open in the centre.
4. King's bust—reverse, a large A in an inner circle.
5. King's bust—reverse, four C's or Crescents in an inner circle, sometimes a small Cross in the centre.
6. King's bust—reverse, a long Cross with broad ends, and ovals in the angles containing the moneyer's name.
7. King's bust—reverse, Moneyers name in a compartment of four divisions.
8. King's bust—reverse, a Square, the angles of which are terminated by crosses.
9. King's bust—reverse, a small Square ornamented with branches.
10. King's bust—reverse, a Square within an inner circle.
11. King's bust—reverse, a Rose like figure in an inner circle.
12. Without head, M. within an inner circle—reverse, a Tribrach.
13. Without head, king's name in the field—reverse, Moneyers name in a compartment.
14. Without head, king's name in the field—reverse, a Tribrach.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

TYPES.		TYPES.	
COENVVLF. REX.	3. 12	CENVVLF. REX. M.	14
— M. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8.		CONVVLF. —	7.
10. 13			

MONEYER'S NAMES.

TYPES.	TYPES.	TYPES.
* BABBA ,	EANMVND .	SWEFNERD 1
BIORNFERTH .	ECBERHT .	TIDBEARHT 5 . 9 . 11
BOTRED 10	ECGBERHT .	VERHEARD .
CEOLBEALD 2	* EDELMOD 12	— I 1
* CEOLHEARD 2	EOBA 12	WERHEARD .
CIOLHARD 12	ETHELMOD .	— I 9
DEALLA 1	HEREBERHT 1	* WIGHARD 12
DIAR .	LVDOMAN 13	WIGHED .
DIOLA 14	LVL 6 . 7	WILMVN 13
DIORMOD 1 . 5 . 9	LVLLA .	WINTRED 1 . 4 . 8
† * DODEL .	OBA 1 . 2	WITHED 1
DVDA 12	SEBERHTI .	WITHER .
DVN 1	SIGEBERHTI .	WODEL 3
EALHSTAN 1 . 5	SIGESTEF .	Or RODEL .

CEOLWULF I., 819.

Few coins in the Anglo-Saxon series have afforded more matter for controversy than those bearing the name of this king.

Two kings of Mercia occur of this name, and although their reigns were upwards of fifty years asunder, Numismatists have differed widely as to which of these princes the different coins bearing the name should be appropriated.

Mr. Hawkins and several other eminent Numismatists, have endeavoured to class them by assigning those with *Ceolvulf* to the first king, and those with *Ciolvulf* to the second.

Ruding has adopted a different point of distinction, and assigned those with the moneyer's name in three lines in the field, (a type similar to that of Burgred,) to Ceolwulf II., and all the other types to the first king of that name.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for Nov. 1835, I expressed an opinion that all these coins whether bearing the name of Ceolvulf, or Ciolvulf, belonged to the successor of Coenwulf, with the single exception of the coin, Ruding, Pl. 7, No. 2, which I assigned to Ceolwulf II.

To this opinion I am still inclined to adhere, but as our most celebrated writers have taken rather a different view of the subject, it will be necessary for me to enter more fully into the reasons on which my opinion is grounded.

* Not in Ruding's list.—† Probably for WODEL.

The principal difficulties which embarrass this question, appear to be the occurrence of so many of the moneyer's names which appear on the coins of Coenwulf connected with types similar to those of Burgred, and that whilst the moneyer's names would assign them to Ceolwulf I., their types would seem rather to belong to the second king of that name, and also the resemblance which the letters on most of the coins bearing the name *Ciolvulf* have to those on the coins of Burgred. To these difficulties the discovery of a coin in the Gravesend hoard has added considerably, for whilst the moneyer's name EANVULF as connected with other types, would render it probable it belonged to the first prince, the type which is that of Burgred, and the circumstance that 429 of that king's coins were found in the hoard, but not a single one belonging to the four princes who reigned between him and Ceolwulf I., would render it more likely to belong to the second; indeed if no other coins of this type were known I should have assigned this coin to Ceolwulf II., but such is the connection as to types and moneyers between all these coins except the single one (Ruding, Pl. 7, No. 2,) I have noticed, that it is almost impossible to come to any other conclusion than that they were all minted by one king, and that king the successor of Coenwulf.

It will be necessary for me however to institute a closer examination of the types and moneyers of these coins, as well as the place of mintage "*Dorobrebia*" exhibited on one of them, and also certain peculiarities as to the form of the letters found on some of them.

The types as will be seen by the list of them appended to these remarks, are all with one single exception far more similar to those of Coenwulf and his immediate successors, than to those of Burgred the immediate predecessor of Ceolwulf II.

Type No. 1, occurs on coins of Coenwulf and Egbert, and the moneyer's name *Ealhstan* on coins of the former, and here the remarkable form of the letter S on the moneyer's name, and which is exactly the same on the coins both of Coenwulf and Ceolwulf establish this type beyond any question as one of Ceolwulf I.; this type also on which the name is read *Ciolvulf*, proves that the letters E and I in the king's name cannot be regarded as a mode of distinguishing these coins.

Type No. 3, occurs on coins of Coenwulf, Berhtulf, Egbert, and Ethelwulf, but not on those of Burgred, and the moneyer's names connected with this type are *Ealhstan*, *Eanvulf*, and *Sigestef*, the first of which names can

alone be of any assistance in deciding this question, for Eanwulf appears only on the Stycas of Osberht, and Sigestef occurs on coins of Coenwulf, Egbert, and Alfred, but Ealhstan which appears only on the coins of Coenwulf would favour its appropriation to Ceolwulf I. ; the letter A however in the centre of the coin is of still more importance, it occurs on the coins of Coenwulf and Berhtulf but does not appear on any of the numerous coins of Burgred, and when it is considered that for at least thirty years after the death of Offa, the sovereignty of East-Anglia was the subject of contention between the Mercian princes and its domestic rulers, and that country was sometimes under the dominion of the former and sometimes of the latter, whilst there is no reason for supposing that Burgred had any authority in it, much less his successor Ceolwulf II., whose reign was short and whose power was scarcely acknowledged in his own kingdom of Mercia, we may I think appropriate this type to Ceolwulf I. with nearly as much certainty as type No. 1.

Type No. 4, occurs on coins of Offa, Coenwulf, and one of those bearing the name of Egbert formerly given to the son of Offa, and the moneyers name *Wodel* which appears on a coin of Coenwulf of *exactly similar type*,* appropriates it beyond question to Ceolwulf I.

Type No. 5.—The coin bearing this singular type is given in Mr. Hawkins's Plates, No. 77, and differs so much from other Anglo-Saxon coins whether of the times of the 1st or 2nd Ceolwulf, that the only criterion we have for appropriating it is the moneyers name *Ealhstan*, which occurring also on types No. 1 and 3, makes it nearly certain that this type also belongs to Ceolwulf I.

Type No. 6, bears on the reverse the name of the place of mintage, "*Dorobrebia*," and was considered by Mr. Hawkins and other eminent Numismatists to belong to Ceolwulf II.

It appears to me however that the place of mintage decides this coin to belong to Ceolwulf I.; from historical accounts† we learn that Coenwulf king of Mercia, having defeated and deposed Eadberht king of Kent, placed Cuthred on the throne of that kingdom, who reigned eight years, his *tributary* and *vassal*, and that after the death of Cuthred, Coenwulf, permitted Baldred his son to succeed him.

Sir Francis Palgrave‡ also says that Cynewulf having seized the kingdom of Kent, *proclaimed himself king*, and that "Kent continued thus subjugated

* New edition of Ruding, Pl. C, Nos. 6, 8.—† Rapin, Vol 1, p. 175, Speed, p. 299.—‡ p. 94.

during several years, though the Mercians frequently appointed *under kings*, or dependent sovereigns who governed the land as *vassals* of the Mercian crown, the first sovereign of this description after the Mercian conquest, being Cuthred the brother of Cynewulf, who received the country as an apanage;" the same author also mentions *Baldred as "the Mercian *subregulus* or *under king*."

From these authorities therefore I think we may conclude that the Mercian kings of that period were in reality the sovereigns of Kent, and the occurrence of the place of mintage, "Dorobrebria" on their coins will then appear both natural and probable; whilst we have no reason whatever for supposing that Ceolwulf II. who reigned fifty-four years after, had the least authority over the kingdom of Kent, which was at that period in the possession of the West Saxon kings, that prince as I have before said, having little or no power even in his own kingdom.

Type No. 7.—This singular type wants the king's bust, an occurrence much commoner on the early than on the late coins of Mercia; its appearance also is much more like that of the coins of Coenwulf than that of any others of the Mercian princes, but the moneyer's name *Ceolhard*, which does not appear on any other coins but those of Offa and Coenwulf, leaves no doubt of its belonging to Ceolwulf I.

Type No. 2.—The coin given in Ruding, Pl. 7, No. 2, being now from the discovery of Mr. Cuff's coin of Alfred, (New edition of Ruding, Pl. C, No. 17,) of similar type, universally admitted to belong to Coelwulf II., the only type which remains to be considered is No. 2, which bears the moneyer's name in three lines in the field, and which from its close resemblance to those of Burgred would appear more likely to belong to Ceolwulf II. than any of those types I have noticed; indeed it appears to me the only one of Ceolwulf's types about which any great doubt can exist.

The uncertainty however does not seem to be whether *all* the coins of this type belong to Ceolwulf I. or to Ceolwulf II., for there are some coins of this type which appear to me as certainly to belong to the former prince as any of those types I have enumerated, but whether any of them can with propriety be assigned to Ceolwulf II.

That the greater portion of the coins of this type belong to Ceolwulf I. is evident from the names of the moneyers *Hereberht*, *Oba*, and *Wodel*, which all appear on the coins of Coenwulf, but none of them on coins of Burgred.

There is however one coin of this type about which a considerable degree of doubt must necessarily exist; it is given in the Numismatic Chronicle for August 1840, and was part of the Gravesend hoard discovered in 1838; in this hoard 429 coins of Burgred occurred, but not a single one of any of the four princes who intervened between Ceolwulf I. and Burgred, a circumstance sufficient to excite our strongest suspicions that this coin belonged to Ceolwulf II.

The moneyers name *Eanvulf*, however occurs on type No. 3, which I have already shewn, appears to belong to Ceolwulf I., but even admitting the correctness of the appropriation of this type, it seems probable there were two moneyers of the name of *Eanvulf*, as I have already noticed one of that name on the coins of Osbercht, after whose death in 867, it is likely he may have worked for some other princes probably for Ceolwulf II., it being only seven years from the death of Osbercht to the accession of Ceolwulf; it may be also remarked, that the type of this coin is somewhat different both from the coins of Burgred, and from those of Ceolwulf, minted by Hereberht, Oba, and Wodel, that the workmanship also is ruder, and that the name is Ciolwulf, instead of Ceolwulf, a distinction which although as I have already shewn not sufficient to enable us to class the coins of the two monarchs of this name, yet rendering it more likely that this coin may belong to Ciolwulf II., on whose only unquestionable coin that mode of spelling appears; in short this coin appears to me a doubtful one, No. 2, Ruding, belonging unquestionably to Ceolwulf II., and all the rest with nearly as much certainty to Ceolwulf I.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF CEOLWULF I.

1. King's bust—reverse, four Crescents with a small Cross in the centre within an inner circle.
2. King's bust—reverse, Moneyer's name in three lines in the field.
3. King's bust—reverse, a large A in an inner circle.
4. King's bust—reverse, a large Cross crosslet with a small square in the centre.
5. King's bust—reverse, two long Crosses.
6. King's head in an inner circle—reverse, DOROBREBIA. CIBI., outside a small circle, TAS within it.
- *7. Without bust, a long Cross within an inner circle—reverse, a Pellet between four small Crosses in an inner circle.

* Sir A. Fountaine, Pl. 4, No. 3.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

TYPES.		TYPES.	
CEOLVVLF. REX. M.	2.4.5.	CIOLVVLF. REX. M.	1.2.3.
CELVVLF	—	—	MCI 6.
		—	MERCIORV 7.
Mint DOROBREBIA. CIBITAS.		6.	

No Moneyer's name.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.	
* BERTWIN.	2	EANVVLF.	2.3	* WERBALD.	} 2
CEOLHARD. ...	7	† HEREBERHT.	2	Or DERBALD	
* DVNN.		† OBA.	2	* WODEL.	2.4
EALHSTAN. ...	1.3.5	SIGESTEF.	3	* WODDEL.	2

BEORNWVLF, 820.

The coins of this king which are extremely rare, present only two types of most barbarous workmanship, the first occurring on the coins of Coenwulf, the second on those of Ceolwulf I., and both on the coins of Ludica.

TYPES OF BEORNWULF.

1. King's head—reverse, a Cross crosslet within an inner circle.
2. King's head—reverse, Moneyer's name in three lines in the field.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

BEORNWVLF. REX.

BEORNVVLF. REX.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

TYPES.		TYPES.	
* EADNOTH.		EVECTA.	1
EADWAS		MONNA.	1
		WERBALD.	2

LVDICA, 824.

Only three coins of this king are known, presenting two types similar to those of the last king, and of workmanship equally rude and barbarous.

* Not in Ruding's lists.—† Given by Ruding to Ceolwulf II.

TYPES OF LUDICA.

1. King's bust—reverse, a Cross crosslet within an inner circle.
2. King's bust—reverse, Moneyer's name in three lines in the field.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

	TYPE.		TYPE.
LVDICA REX ME	2	LVDICA. REX	1
----- RX ME	1		

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPE.		TYPE.		TYPE.
* EADCAR	1	* EADNOD	1	WERBALD	2

WIGLAF, 825.

The coins of this king of which only three specimens are known, are the very acme of barbarity; they are of two types, one with and the other without the head, as if the former rude as it is, was almost too great an effort for the skill of the workman, who in the latter was scarcely able to accomplish even the letters and the simple type which they surround.

From the absence of the letter A on the coins of Beornwulf, Ludica, and Wiglaf, and the fact that the two former were killed in battle against the East-Anglians headed by their *kings*, although the names of those kings history has not transmitted to us, it would appear that the authority of the Mercian princes over that kingdom had ceased, a circumstance material to be recollected when we come to treat of the succession of the East-Anglian kings.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF WIGLAF.

1. King's head—reverse, a Cross crosslet without inner circle.
2. Without head, Cross and Pellets in an inner circle—reverse, Moneyer's name in three lines in the field.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

WIGLAF. REX. M.

* Not in Ruding's list.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPE.		TYPE.
HVVNOELL.	1	REDMVND	2

BERHTVLF, 839.

On this king's coins which are rather numerous, we perceive some degree of improvement both in execution and design; the types on the reverse although of great variety do not exhibit any material differences, being generally small crosses of different forms within an inner circle.

On several of this king's coins we observe the large A in the field, the symbol of the East-Angles, from which it may be concluded that Mercia during his reign had recovered its influence over that people, which fact is strongly corroborated by a discovery lately made by Mr. Haigh, that Beorthric now admitted to have been one of the hitherto unknown kings of the East-Angles, was the son of Berhtulf.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF BERHTULF.

1. King's bust—reverse, Cross Moline.
2. King's bust—reverse, Cross Potent.
3. King's bust—reverse, Cross Crosslet, having in the centre sometimes an annulet enclosing a pellet, and sometimes a circular compartment.
4. King's bust—reverse, Cross two limbs crosslet two plain.
5. King's bust—reverse, Cross two limbs crosslet, two moline.
6. King's bust—reverse, Plain Cross, with an annulet in each angle.
7. King's bust—reverse, Plain Cross, three pellets in one angle, one in the others.
8. King's bust—reverse, Plain Cross, with two wedges in each angle.
9. King's bust—reverse, Small plain Cross on a cross crosslet.
10. King's bust—reverse, a large A in the field.
11. King's bust—reverse, a long Cross between TA, the last letters of *Moneta*.
12. King's bust—reverse, eight wedges like rays proceeding from an annulet; a pellet between each.
13. King's bust—reverse, two plain concentric Crosses forming eight equal angles.
14. Without head, a Cross potent on a plain Cross—reverse, a Cross Potent in an inner circle.
15. Christian Monogram—reverse, a large M in the field.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

	TYPES.
BERHTVLF . REX	1 . 3 . 4 . 5 . 6 . 7 . 8 . 9 . 10 . 13 . 15
BERHTWLF . REX	1 . 3 . 10 . 11 . 12 .
— M	14 .

MONEYER'S NAMES.

TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
BRID..... 10		* EADVALD..... 5		OSVLF..... 3
BVRNWALD 1. 4. 6. 9. 10		EANBALD..... 10. 11. 15		OSVVLF.
* BVRNVALD. 10		* EANNA..... 1. 3		SIGEHEAH. 6. 7. 8. 10. 13
DENEHEAH. 3. 5		* LIABA..... 12		TATEL..... 14
Or DENEHEAN.		† LIABAVND		WINE..

BVRGRED, 853.

This Prince's coins although rude, are many of them executed with more neatness than most of those of that period; they are mostly of tolerably good silver, but a few of his later coins are of extremely base metal; they are far more numerous than any other Heptarchic coins of the penny size, but do not present any great variety of type, all of them having the king's head on one side and the moneyer's name in the field on the other; they may be divided into four distinct varieties, the first of which is similar to a type of Ceolwulf I., and the third to one of Wiglaf's.

From the extremely fine preservation of the greater portion of Burgred's coins, it would seem as if most of them were deposited soon after they were struck, a circumstance highly probable from the constant incursions and ravages of the Danes at that period, and the troubles in which Mercia was then continually involved.

It does not appear either from this prince's coins or from historical accounts, that he had any connexion with East-Anglia, which except for the first two and the last four of the twenty-one years he reigned was governed by Eadmund.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF BURGRED.

1. King's bust—reverse, Moneyer's name within two lines, curved at the ends.
2. King's bust—reverse, Do. a segment of a circle above and another below the legend.
3. King's bust—reverse, Moneyer's name between two semicircles, enclosing the word MONETA.
4. King's bust—reverse, Do. but the semicircles divided in the middle.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

TYPES.		TYPES.
BVRGRED REX!..... 1. 2. 3. 4		BVRGRED. REX. M..... 1. 2. 3. 4
— RE. 1		— RE. M..... 1. 2. 3. 4

* Not in Ruding's list.—† Perhaps incorrectly read.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

TYPES.	TYPES.	TYPES.
ADHELM.	DIAINLE.	GERNTHE..... 3
ADHLEM.	* DIARVL..... 2	GVDHEM.
BEACILIA.	DIARVLF..... 1.2.3.4	* GVDMVND..... 3
BEAGITAN.... 3	DIARVVLF.	GVTHRE..... 2.3
BEAGSIAN.	DIARVLF.	* GVTHHERE..... 3
BEAGSTA.... 3.4	* DIARVFL..... 3	* HATWIC.
* BEARNEA..... 3	DIARVALD.	HEAGLE
BEARNE..... 3	DIARVIL.	HEAVVLF..... 1.3
BERNEA..... 3	DIGA..... 3	* HEAVVL..... 3
BERNEAH.	DVDA..... 1.2.3	* HEVVLF..... 1.2
BERAHM.	DVDDA..... 1.2.3.4	* HEREFER..... 3
* BERANH..... 3	DVTHDA..... 1	HEREFERTH... 1
BERHAM.	DVDD.	HEREMELTH.
BERLM.	* DVDEC..... 1	HVGERED,.... 1.2.3
BERHTEL	* DVDECI..... 2	* HVGERE..... 3
* BERNRED..... 1	DVDECII..... 2.3	HVSSA..... 1.2.3
BEVRNI.	DVDELM.	* HVTHRE..... 2.3
BIARNVLF.	* DVDEMA..... 1	* IDIGA..... 3
* BIORNOTH.... 3	DVDEMAN.	* LEFLE..... 3
BLEHTICI.	DVDEMTAN.	LIAFMAN,.... 2
CEALLAF..... 2	DVDNE.	* LIAFNA..... 1
* CEDLIAF..... 2	DVDWINE..... 1.3	* LINFWALD.
* CEINRED..... 3	* EADLVF..... 3	* LVDE..... 3
CENRED..... 1.2.3	* EADLVLF..... 3	* LVDIG..... 1.2
* CETHELLVLF.. 2	EADVLF..... 3	LVLLA..... 3.4
CIALLA.	EADNOD.	MAMMAN.
CIALLAF..... 1.2	* EADNOTH..... 3	OSMVND..... 1.3
* CVNEHE..... 3	* EANARL..... 3	OSMVNE.
CVNEHEL..... 1.2.3	EANRED..... 3	TATA..... 1.2
CVNEHELM... 2	* ELFEAR..... 3	TATEL..... 3
CVNEHL..... 1.2.3.4	ETHELHEA... 3	* TIDHELM..... 3
CVNEHLM..... 1.2	ETHELVLFF... 1.2.3.4	VVLFEARD... 1
CVNEHM..... 2	ETHELVL..... 2	* VVLFERD..... 3
CVTHRE..... 3	* ETHELVF..... 3	WIFEARD.
DADA..... 3	* ETHEVLF..... 3	* WVLFERD.... 1.4
* DEALGE..... 3	ETHERED.	WHNE..... 2
* DELA..... 3	FRAMRIC..... 2	WINE..... 1.2
* DIA..... 3		

* Not in Ruding's list.

CEOLWULF II., 874.

The coins of the Ceolwulfs* having been discussed in a former place, it will be sufficient here to observe that the only coin which can with certainty be attributed to the second Ceolwulf, is that given in Ruding, Pl. 7, No. 2, which from its strong resemblance to a coin of Alfred recently discovered, is now universally admitted to belong to this prince.

TYPE OF CEOLWULF II.

King's bust without inner circle—reverse, a long Cross extending to the edge of the coin, and having in the centre a small square or lozenge with the angles terminating in small crosses, and containing a small cross.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

CIOLVVLF. REX.

MONEYER'S NAME DEALING.

The Mercian series closes with the coins of this king whose short reign began and terminated in the same year.

EAST-ANGLIA.

We now come to a series of coins which afford a grand practical proof of the illustration which history is capable of receiving from Numismatic investigations; we have here a kingdom the existence of whose princes for a period of fifty or sixty years, is scarcely mentioned by our ancient chronicles which are altogether silent as to their names.

This deficiency we find in a singular manner supplied by their coinage, which furnishes us with the names of at least three princes of whom no other.

* After my observations on the coins of the Ceolwulfs had gone to press, I perceived that I had omitted to notice a coin given in the last edition of Ruding, Pl. D, No. 1, and which exhibits a type different from any of those I have given; it bears on the obverse, the king's head with CIOLVVLF. REX. M. and on the reverse a Cross crosslet within an inner circle, with EALHSTAN. MONET., and from its type and moneyer's name, and the singular form of the letter S, I think it will be admitted without question to belong to Ceolwulf I.

records remain, and in conjunction with the coins of Mercia and Wessex, affords us the means of arranging with some degree of accuracy the succession of their kings for the period alluded to, as well as of making some approach towards ascertaining the length of their respective reigns.

Before however we come to the period of the East-Anglian annals just noticed, some account will be necessary of the earlier coins of that kingdom.

Amongst the Skeattas which I have at the commencement of this work laid before the reader, will be found several which I have conjectured to belong to this kingdom, but as the appropriation of them to particular kings is of too unsatisfactory a description to entitle them to any further notice in this place, I shall proceed to the consideration of the coins of Beorna, the appropriation of which may be considered as certain and unquestionable.

BEORNA, 690.

The Skeattas bearing the name Beorna, have I believe almost universally been admitted to belong to an East-Anglian king of that name, but whether there were two kings of this name, and if so to which of them these coins should be attributed has been rather a disputed question.

From a comparison however of the different authorities on the subject, it appears to me that there must have been two kings of that name, the first occupying the East-Anglian throne from 690 to 714, and the second reigning in conjunction with Ethelbert I. from 749 to 758, and after the death of Ethelbert in the latter year by himself for three years longer.

This arrangement does not indeed completely agree with any single authority on the subject, but it seems to me the only one by which the different accounts can be in any manner reconciled; at all events the main points, viz. the existence of a prince of this name who began to reign about 690, and that of another prince about the middle of the eighth century, will probably be assented to, leaving undecided (what in this place is of minor importance,) the periods of their accession and the precise length of their respective reigns, and whether the name of the latter prince was Beorna, Hunbeanna or Hunbearus, and his partner's Ethelred, Ethelbertus, or Albertus.

The question however to which of these two princes these coins are to be attributed is one of some difficulty, and I fear I cannot adduce any evidence which would be considered conclusive on the subject.

The strong resemblance these coins bear as to type to the Skeattas I have conjectured to belong to the same kingdom, would favour their appropriation to the first prince, whilst the Runic letters found on some of them and which do not occur on those Skeattas which are considered as the earliest, would seem rather to assign them to the second.

When however it is considered that the first Beorna reigned twenty-four years, whilst the second appears to have reigned by himself only three, and that even his right name is a matter of some doubt, I think it will be admitted that the claim of the former to these coins is far stronger.

The letters E . F . E on the reverses of these coins are extremely difficult to interpret; most writers consider them to form the name of the moneyer, but with this interpretation I am by no means satisfied, although I confess I cannot substitute a more probable one.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS OF BEORNA.

The king's name and title BEONNA REX. sometimes partly in Runic characters round a small circle containing a pellet—reverse, a square, the angles of which are produced to the edge of the coin, a Cross in the centre of the square and another in one of the external compartments, and the letters E . F . E . in the other three.

The next coin which has been assigned a place in the East-Anglian series, is that remarkable one engraved in Mr. Hawkins's work, No. 89, and attributed by that gentleman to Beorna and Ethelred; it bears on one side a rude temple and the legend EDELRED RE., and on the other a small cross and pellets, and a legend which Mr. Hawkins reads BEORNHRE, but which I fully agree with Mr. Haigh should be read BEORNHAE, and considered as the name of the moneyer, the name BEORNHAE composed of letters *similarly formed* and accompanied by the *similar type*, of a small cross and pellets being found on several of the coins of Eadmund king of the East-Angles.

In the Numismatic Chronicle for April 1841, p. 38, the reader will find Mr. Haigh's reasons for dissenting from Mr. Hawkins's appropriation of this coin, his principal ones being that I have just noticed, and the probability that the type of the temple was copied from the coins of Louis le Debonaire, and therefore it could not have been struck before 830.

To these reasons I give my unqualified assent, and the only question which now remains to be decided, is to what prince of the name of Ethelred it should be assigned.

Amongst the East-Anglian princes of the ninth century no such name occurs, and if we suppose the coin to have been struck in East-Anglia after 830, (a circumstance which the moneyer's name BEORNHAE, compared with the same name on the coins of Eadmund would render nearly certain,) we find the throne of that kingdom between that date and 855, the accession of Eadmund filled by several other princes, leaving it extremely improbable that any king of the name of Ethelred should have reigned in East-Anglia during that period.

On the martyrdom of Eadmund in 870, the East-Anglian kingdom fell into the hands of the Danes, but it is highly probable that the authority of Ethelred the West-Saxon monarch was partially recognised in that kingdom, this supposition is strongly supported by a coin of Ethelred found at Gravesend; it is engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle for August 1840, p. 31, and bears on the reverse in addition to the moneyer's name and designation, the letter A, always considered as the symbol of the East-Angles; to this monarch therefore I assign the coin in question, and consider it to have been struck by one of the East-Anglian moneyers of Eadmund.

To this appropriation Mr. Haigh has not only given his sanction, but added a suggestion which renders the attribution to the West-Saxon monarch still more probable.

He considers the type of the Christian temple as peculiar to the Carlovingian race, and never found on the coins of any prince who could not claim descent from or relationship to the blood royal of France, which Ethelred could do, his father Ethelwulf and afterwards his brother Ethelbald having married Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald.

After the coins of Beorna, I cannot discover any which can be appropriated to the kingdom of the East-Angles, until we arrive at the period of its falling under the power of Mercia.

We now approach that dark period of East-Anglian history which I have already alluded to, as deriving so much illustration from the coinage of that kingdom.

Offa having by the murder of Ethelbert added East-Anglia to his dominions, that kingdom has been generally supposed to have remained under the Mercians for the greatest part of the period from 792, to the accession of Eadmund in 855; mention is indeed made in the Anglo-Saxon annals of kings of the East-Angles, who defended their dominions against the successors of Coenwulf, but little else is recorded of them, nor were even their names transmitted to us until the discovery of a series of coins which are now admitted to belong to this kingdom, furnished us with several of them.

The first person to whom the merit of this discovery is due, was the late Mr. Taylor Combe, who expressed an opinion that the coins of Ethelweard, formerly assigned to a king of the West-Saxons should be transferred to East-Anglia.

Since then the coin of Beorthric, (also supposed to belong to the West-Saxons,) has been added to the list, and a good deal of additional light has been thrown on the subject by Mr. Hawkins and other writers, but particularly by Mr. Haigh, who has followed up the investigation of this most interesting series, and added to it the coins of Eadwald formerly assigned to Mercia, and transferred the coins formerly appropriated to Guthrum, to Ethelstan the son of Egbert.

Mr. Amyot also in a most able and interesting paper in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 19, p. 302, has collected all the evidence which the Anglo-Saxon annals afford towards elucidating this most obscure period of East-Anglian history.

No attempt however has hitherto been made by a comparison of the historical accounts with the coins which remain, to ascertain the order of succession of these hitherto unknown kings, still less the periods of their accession and length of their respective reigns.

This I shall now make some effort to accomplish, premising that a perfect arrangement is not to be expected, and that I can only hope to lay the foundation of one which future discoveries whether Historical or Numismatic may render more complete and satisfactory.

The kings noticed by the Anglo-Saxon annals, as presiding over East-Anglia from 792 to 905, when that kingdom finally merged in that of the West-Saxon princes, are Offa king of Mercia, Eadmund who obtained the throne in 855, Guthrum in 870, who was baptized by the name of Ethelstan in 878, and Eoric in 890, on whose expulsion in 905 it fell into the hands of Edward the Elder.

We can also deduce from history that the immediate successors of Offa were occasionally at least in possession of East-Anglia, and also that she had kings of her own, whose names indeed are not recorded, but who in two instances, viz. in 823 and 825, are mentioned to have defeated and slain the Mercian kings Beornwulf and Ludica, who sought again to reduce their kingdom to the dominion of the Mercians.

These accounts for so long a period are both scanty and unsatisfactory, but the illustration we derive from their coins is of far more importance, for it would appear from them, that the Mercian kings, Coenwulf, Ceolwulf I., and Berhtulf, and the West-Saxon kings, Egbert, Ethelwulf, Ethelred I., and Alfred, were all at some period of their reigns kings of East-Anglia, and if to this catalogue we add the newly discovered kings, Eadvald, Ethelstan (the brother of Ethelwulf,) Beorthric and Ethelweard, and those always admitted to belong to that kingdom, viz. Eadmund, Ethelstan or Guthrum and Eoric, in all seventeen princes, it will be admitted that they form altogether much more than the usual proportion of kings generally found to occupy a kingdom for the space of 113 years, but which the perpetual wars and troubles in which East-Anglia was during that period involved, will so well account for.

Previous however to entering further into the subject before us, it will be right to give some reasons for considering Ethelstan the brother of Ethelwulf as belonging to the East-Anglian series.

Before the publication of these sheets, Mr. Haigh will probably have given through the Numismatic Chronicle his discovery, that the coins hitherto assigned to Ethelstan or Guthrum 878, in reality belong to the brother of Ethelwulf.

The following are the principal points of evidence adduced by Mr. Haigh in support of this appropriation.

1st.—That several of the coins hitherto attributed to Guthrum, were found in the Dorking hoard, and a few of the same in the Gravesend, which hoards from the coins they contained, there is the highest probability were deposited, the former at least twelve, and the latter six or seven years before Guthrum, at his baptism took the name of Ethelstan.

2nd.—The strong resemblance in execution, type, moneyer's names, and shape of letters, between the coins of Ethelstan with portrait and those of Beornwulf and Ludica, and in type between the coins without portrait and those of Egbert and Ethelwulf.

3rd.—That it appears from a legendary life of St. Edmund, quoted in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations," that he was nephew by the mother's side to a king of the name of Athelstan.

4th.—That several coins bearing the name of Ethelstan similar to Alfred's, and totally different from those hitherto assigned to Guthrum, were found in the Cuerdale hoard, rendering it certain that the former belonged to Guthrum, and highly probable that the latter were the coinage of a more early king.

To which we may add, that notwithstanding the length of Ethelstan the brother of Ethelwulf's reign, no coins have been hitherto attributed to him except those with the bust, which by a few writers were assigned to him, and which there can be no doubt were struck by the same prince as those without it.

All which evidence appears to me sufficiently strong to warrant us in transferring the coins heretofore assigned to Guthrum, to the brother of Ethelwulf, and those newly discovered in the Cuerdale hoard to Guthrum.

That Beorthric was another of the unknown kings of the East-Angles, has been assented to by Mr. Hawkins, and this appropriation has been greatly supported by a discovery which Mr. Haigh has made of that prince being the son of the Mercian king Berhtulf; two Charters being extant of that king, one of 840, and the other of 845, witnessed by "*Beorthric filius Regis.*"

This fact proves also the connexion between Berhtulf and the kingdom of the East-Angles, for which we had hitherto no other authority than the symbol of that kingdom, which several of his coins exhibit.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain the succession of those kings I have already enumerated.

That East-Anglia remained subject to the Mercian kings from 792 to the end of Offa's reign in 796, and also during the short reign of Egfrid and the early part of that of Coenwulf, there can I think be little doubt; Offa was the relative and ally of Brithric the king of Wessex next to Mercia, the most powerful of the Heptarchic kingdoms, and under Coenwulf the power of Mercia was still unimpaired and more than a match for that of the East-Angles until that people received the support of Egbert, which it would appear from historical accounts, could not have well occurred until after the death of Coenwulf, or with more probability after the deposition of Ceolwulf by Beornwulf in 820, when the domestic troubles of Mercia presented a favourable opportunity for the East-Angles to throw off the yoke of that kingdom.

The evidence of history would therefore lead to the conclusion, that the East-Angles recovered their independence about the year 820, when Ceolwulf I. was deposed, and we shall now examine whether that afforded by their coins tends to support or weaken this conclusion.

The coins bearing the name of Eadvald and which are now admitted to belong to the East-Anglian series, are evidently the earliest struck by that people after they had recovered their independence, they are few in number and of rude work, and the evidence afforded by them is rather of a perplexing and contradictory description.

In types they appear a rude imitation of some of Offa's simplest and least ornamented coins, but the moneyers would seem rather to belong to the latter end of Coenwulf's reign, and that of the short reigns of his successors; they are only two in number, *Wintred* and *Eadnod*; the former indeed appears on the coins of Offa, but it also appears on one of Coenwulf's which for the following reason would seem to be one of his latest.

The large A in the field of this coin, and which particularly connects it with East-Anglia and the moneyer of the same name (*Wintred*), on the coins of Eadvald, is not found on any of Offa's coins, nor any other of the numerous coins of Coenwulf; we find it however on several of the coins of Ceolwulf I., from which it would seem to have been first introduced on the coins of Mercia, about the latter end of Coenwulf's reign, possibly when the East-Angles began to think of asserting their independence, and we may also observe that the form of the letters and workmanship of this coin appears to confirm this supposition.

The evidence afforded by the other moneyer's name *Eadnod*, is of a more decisive character, for that name is not found on any of the coins of Offa or Coenwulf, whilst it occurs on those of Beornwulf, Ludica and Ethelstan.

On the other hand it must on a close examination of the coins of Eadvald, be admitted that their resemblance to the coins of Offa is much greater than to those of Coenwulf, and that the moneyer's name *Vintred* or *Wintred*, is not only found on a coin of Offa, but the same remarkable form of the V is used on both, whereas on Coenwulf's coin the moneyer's name commences with the W; however it is possible Eadvald's moneyer may have closely copied the letters as well as the type of Offa's coin; the question is indeed a difficult one and admits of argument on either side, but from the preponderance

of historical evidence, I am inclined to place Eadvald's reign after that of Ceolwulf I., and to suppose that he was the unknown king by whom the Mercian kings Beornwulf and Ludica were defeated and slain.

Indeed under any view of the subject, and whether Eadvald's reign commenced during that of Coenwulf or afterwards, there is a considerable probability that he was the prince just alluded to, for in the former case although deposed and excluded from the throne towards the end of Coenwulf's reign and during that of Ceolwulf I., he may have afterwards been restored by the assistance of Egbert.

The king who seems most likely to have succeeded Eadvald on the East-Anglian throne, is Ethelstan the son of Egbert, whose connection with that kingdom has so lately been ascertained by Mr. Haigh.

We find it proved beyond question by the Anglo-Saxon annals, that it was by the support of Egbert, that East-Anglia was enabled to struggle so successfully with the Mercian kings, and on the throne of that kingdom becoming vacant, nothing seems more likely than that Egbert should have been permitted to nominate the sovereign of that kingdom, which was so completely in his power, and this supposition the coins of Ethelstan seem completely to confirm.

The occurrence however of the East-Anglian symbol on a coin of Egbert would appear to establish the fact, that previous to the appointment of Ethelstan, Egbert himself may have for a short period held the sovereignty in his hands before he transmitted it to his son.

When Ethelstan ascended the East-Anglian throne, we have no means of ascertaining, but it was probably not sooner than 828, and probably not much later, as would seem from a coin of Egbert engraved in Mr. Hawkins's work, No. 158, and which would appear from the united symbols of East-Anglia and Mercia, to be struck about the time when Egbert had deposed Wiglaf and before he reinstated him in 828; this coin is therefore material in proving something nearly the time when Egbert assumed the sovereignty of East-Anglia which he probably soon after transferred to Ethelstan.

The termination of his reign is a point of nearly equal difficulty, I am inclined however to suspect that on the division of the West-Saxon dominions between him and Ethelwulf in 841, he gave up East-Anglia to the Mercian king.

At that period England was peculiarly harrassed by the Danes, against whom Ethelwulf, Ethelstan and Berhtulf acted in concert, and as the two

former must have found it abundantly sufficient to defend the coast of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent, they would probably avail themselves of the assistance of Berhtulf to defend that of East-Anglia, which was in fact the passage or means of access into his own kingdom of Mercia; and this arrangement would be still more probable from East-Anglia having so long belonged to Mercia, the kings of which perhaps never completely relinquished their claim to that kingdom.

This supposition the events of the times would render probable, but the coins of Berhtulf and his son Beorthric, afford evidence of a more conclusive nature.

On many of those of the former we find the symbol of East-Anglia, from which we may conclude that kingdom had again become subject to the Mercians, a circumstance confirmed by Mr. Haigh's discovery, that Beorthric whose coin has been lately assigned to East-Anglia was the son of Berhtulf.

We may also suppose that Beorthric's appointment to the throne was some time between 845 and 853, for we find him at the former date, attesting a Charter given by his father, at which time it is highly improbable he could have been a king, and as the crown of Mercia went on the death of Berhtulf in 853, to Burgred who does not appear to have been related to him, it is probable Beorthric must have died before the latter date.

From the East-Anglian symbol which appears on some of Ethelwulf's coins it would appear that kingdom at some period acknowledged his authority, but whether as chief monarch or as its own peculiar king is uncertain, neither can we ascertain with any degree of certainty, at what period he was connected with East-Anglia, but it seems likely that on the death of Beorthric, that kingdom fell into his hands previous to the succession or appointment of Ethelweard, who must from the strong similarity of his coins and the names of his moneyers to those of Eadmund, beyond question, be admitted to have been the immediate predecessor of that prince.

The period of Ethelweard's accession is uncertain, but it is probable he reigned only a few years, as Beorthric could hardly have reigned much earlier than 850, and Eadmund began his reign in 855.

The period of Eadmund's reign is well known, as history informs us, he began to reign in 855, and was murdered by the Danes in 870.

After the death of Eadmund (afterwards canonized as a saint,) East-Anglia fell into the hands of the Danes, and Guthrum was appointed king; from the

coins of Ethelred I. and Alfred, however it would appear they had not relinquished their claim to the sovereignty of that kingdom, as on a few of their coins we find its well known symbol, soon after the accession of Alfred, however it is probable the authority of Guthrum became indisputable, and in 878 his claim was fully acknowledged by Alfred, and he was baptized by the name of Ethelstan.

With Ethelstan who if Mr. Haigh's discovery be admitted, we must call the second East-Anglian king of that name, all difficulty as to the East-Anglian kingdom ceases, as it is known that he was succeeded by Eoric on whose expulsion in 905 it became part of the dominions of Edward the Elder, who thus became master of all the Heptarchic kingdoms except Northumberland.

The following list will give the reader a clearer view of the arrangement I have suggested; the order of succession of these princes will probably be admitted as likely to be for the most part correct, but the period of many of their reigns must be considered uncertain, and we must wait for future discoveries to clear up the obscurity in which they are involved.

KINGS OF EAST-ANGLIA FROM 792 TO 905.

OFFA,	792	BEORTRIC.	
EGFRID,	796	ETHELWULF.	
COENWULF,	796	ETHELWEARD.	
CENELM,	819	EADMUND,	855
CEOLWULF,	819	ETHELRED,	870
EADVALD,	820?	ALFRED.	871
EGBERT.		ETHELSTAN II.	878
ETHELSTAN I.		EORIC,	890
BERHTULF,	841?	EDWARD THE ELDER,	905

The most important question suggested by an examination of this list, is whether Ethelstan's reign over the East-Angles terminated about the year 841, or in 851, when he is supposed to have died; but the latter supposition would allow only four years for Berhtulf, Beorthric, Ethelwulf and Ethelweard, to have governed East-Anglia, a circumstance highly improbable, particularly when the numerous coins of Berhtulf and Ethelweard are considered, and if we admit that he resigned East-Anglia *at any time* before his death, 841 must in that case be decidedly the most likely period for the reasons I have already given.

Having endeavoured to ascertain the order of succession of the East-Anglian princes from the usurpation of the kingdom by Offa, we shall proceed to examine their coins which have descended to us.

Those struck by the Mercian princes have been already described, and the few which appear to have been minted in East-Anglia by the West-Saxon kings, will more properly be described when we come to notice the coinage of the kingdom of Wessex, so that it only remains for us in this place to notice those which belong to the more peculiar rulers of East-Anglia, viz. Eadvald, Ethelstan I., Beorhtric, Ethelweard, Eadmund, and Guthrum or Ethelstan II., no coins of Eoric having as yet been found.

EADVALD, 820?

The coins of this king which are of extreme rarity, strongly resemble some of the rudest and most simple of those of Offa; they were formerly given to Ethelbald king of Mercia, but for reasons already adduced are now admitted to belong to the East-Anglian series.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF EADVALD.

1. King's name and title in three lines in the field—reverse, Moneyer's name in a circular compartment divided into four parts.
2. King's name and title in three lines in the field—reverse, a small square in the centre of a large cruciform compartment containing the moneyers name.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

EADVALD . REX .

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPE.		TYPE.
EADNOTH	I	VINTRED	2

ETHELSTAN I.

The coins of this prince hitherto appropriated to Guthrum are rather numerous, but do not present many marked or important varieties, their types being of a rude and simple description with generally the East-Anglian A on one side, and a small cross with pellets or other ornaments on the other; a

few however are of a quite different class, having the king's bust on the obverse similar to that on the coins of Ethelwulf, Beornwulf, and Ludica; their types and appearance are indeed so different from those without the bust, that they might naturally be supposed to have been struck by Ethelstan in a different kingdom of the Heptarchy, but the names of the moneyers *Eadgar* and *Monn*, the only ones found on the coins with the bust, appear on many of those without it, and together with the similar form of the letters on both classes, and on those of Eadmund, king of the East-Angles, leave no doubt but they belong to the same king and to the same kingdom.

There appears to be a considerable degree of resemblance as to type between the coins of this king and those of Eanred king of Northumberland, the pellet in a small circle, and the small cross being some of the commonest types of both princes, the coin of Beorhtric also bears a strong resemblance to those of Ethelred the successor of Eanred, in particular to the coin engraved in the new edition of Ruding, Pl. Q, No. 15, both coins bearing in the margin the M. M. of a small cross and pellets, coincidences strongly corroborative of the arrangement I have ventured to make, for Eanred died in 841, the very year I have supposed to be the termination of Ethelstan's reign, and Ethelred died in 848, not far from the period I have assigned for the probably short reign of Beorhtric.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF ETHELSTAN I.

1. The letter A in the field—reverse, a Pellet in a small circle.
2. Do. sometimes in an inner circle—reverse, a small Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
3. Do. —reverse, two plain concentric Crosses, forming eight equal angles.
4. Do. —* reverse, M in an inner circle.
5. On both sides a small Cross in an inner circle.
6. Do. a small Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
7. Do. a small Cross with wedges in the angles in an inner circle.
8. King's bust to right—reverse, a Cross crosslet in an inner circle.
9. King's bust to left—reverse, two small concentric Crosses forming eight rays, a Pellet between each.
10. King's bust to left—reverse, Moneyer's name and designation in four lines in the field.

* The M on the reverse was probably intended for the initial of the moneyer's name MON, that name appearing on a coin found at Gravesend and described in the Numismatic Chronicle for August 1840, on which the similar and remarkable legend RE. AI. appears.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
AETHILSTAN.	6	EDELSTAN. RE.	7.8
EDELSTAN, or }	1.2.3.5	_____ AI.	6
EDELSTANI. }		_____ *. REX. ANG.	4
EDELSTAN. REX.	9.10		

One Coin is mentioned by Ruding, Vol. 1, p. 332, as having EDELSTAN REX. on both sides.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
EADGAR.	7.8.10	† MONN.	2.9	TORHTHELM.	2
EADNOD.	2.3.5	MON.	6	TORTHELM.	
ERNWER.		ORHTHELM.	2	TORHTEL.	
ERONWER.		RERNNER.	1	† TVDVWINE.	
† ETHELHELM.					

BEORHTRIC.

Only one specimen of this king's coins has hitherto been discovered, and the strong resemblance of its type to those of Ethelweard and Eadmund, together with Mr. Haigh's discovery that Berhtulf had a son of that name, leave no doubt of the correctness of its appropriation to one of the hitherto unknown kings of the East-Angles, and with the greatest probability to the king who immediately preceded Ethelweard.

The moneyer's name Ecchard does not I believe occur on the coins of any other king; the I at the end of his name it is difficult to assign the meaning of; it may possibly be intended merely to fill up the space between the two small crosses, or possibly to form the genitive case of the moneyer's name, as we find on many coins of that period, for although it is separated from the name by a small cross, we find in fact all the other letters divided from one another by pellets.

TYPE ON THE COIN OF BEORHTRIC.

The letter A in the field—reverse, a small Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.

* On Reverse.—† Not in Ruding's list.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

BEORHTRIC . REX .

MONEYER'S NAME ECCHARD.

ETHELWEARD.

The coins of this king have long since been assigned to the East-Anglian series, indeed the wonder is that they should ever have been assigned to any other, considering the uncommon degree of resemblance which subsists between them and the coins of Eadmund, as to type, moneyers, and formation of letters, indeed such is the resemblance that all the five types of Ethelweard's coins are found on those of Eadmund, and out of the six moneyers of the former, the names of four are found on the coins of the latter, and it is not only certain that this king's appropriation to East-Anglia is correct, but that he must have been the immediate predecessor of Eadmund.

The coins of Ethelweard were formerly very rare, but recent discoveries have brought to light a good many of them, although no considerable number have been found in one place.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF ETHELWEARD.

1. The letter A in the field—reverse, a small Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
2. The letter A in the field—reverse, a small Cross with wedges in the angles in an inner circle.
3. Small Cross with crescents in the angles in an inner circle—reverse, small Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
4. Small Cross with crescents in the angles in an inner circle—reverse, small Cross with wedges in the angles in an inner circle.
5. Cross issuing from two annulets joined—reverse, Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
AETHELWEARD . REX	1	ETHELWARD . REX	1 . 2 . 3 . 4
ETHELWEARD . REX	5		

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
AETHELHELM	3 . 4	EADMVND	1	* TVDVALNE	2
DVDDA	1 . 2	RAEXENHEBE	1	* TWICCA	5

EADMVND, 855.

This prince's coins require but few observations, they are much less rare than any others of the East-Anglian series, the moneyers are also rather numerous, but the types differ but little from those of Ethelweard.

It is somewhat singular, that so few of the East-Anglian coins exhibit the king's bust, indeed if we except those of the West-Saxon or Mercian princes, who were connected with this kingdom, we find the bust only on three coins of Ethelstan I., and in no instance on any of the coins of Eadvald, Beorhtric, Ethelweard, Eadmund, or Ethelstan II.; the circumstance however of this kingdom having been for so long a period the subject of contention for its more powerful neighbours, and afterwards so much exposed to the incursions of the Danes, will perhaps in some degree account for the rudeness and simplicity of their coinage.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF EADMUND.

1. The letter A in the field—reverse, Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
2. The letter A in the field—reverse, Cross with wedges in the angles in an inner circle.
3. Cross with crescents in the angles in an inner circle—reverse, Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
4. Cross with crescents in the angles in an inner circle—reverse, Cross with wedges in the angles in an inner circle.
5. On both sides a Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
6. Cross proceeding from two annulets joined—reverse, Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
7. Cross supported on a broad stand, and forming the letter A—reverse, Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
EADMVND . REX	1 . 4 . 5	EADMVND . RX . AN	1
AN..	1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 6 . 7	ADMVND . REX . AN	3
RE . AN..	4		

* Not in Ruding's list.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
* AEDELHELM	4	* EADBERHT	1	* EDELVVLF	4
† AETHELHELM	4	EADMONV		ETHELVVLF	4
ALEX		EADMVND	1	* ETHELVVLF	4
BAELHELM	1 . 5	EADVALD		* ETHELFVLF	
* BEORNFEERD	1	EADWALD	1	SIGERED	
BEORNFERTH	1	EADWOLD		SILERED	1 . 2
BEORNHAEH	1	EADWARD		* SILRED	1
DECALE		* EDELHELM	4	TWICCA	6
DVDDA	1 . 7	ETHELHELM	3	* TWICA	6

ETHELSTAN II. 870.

This prince for the first seven or eight years of his reign was called Guthrum, and his title disputed by the West-Saxon monarchs, but in 878 he was acknowledged by Alfred and became a convert to christianity, on which occasion he was baptized and took the name of Ethelstan.

To him were formerly appropriated the coins which Mr. Haigh and I have ventured to assign to the son of Egbert.

The Cuerdale hoard has however brought to light a number of coins which unquestionably belong to him, and which are totally different from the former; they exactly resemble in type and form of legend the coins of his contemporary Alfred, and a particular account and description of them will probably be given by Mr. Hawkins.

One of them will be found in Pl. 2, No. 49, of this work, and about twenty of them were I understand found at Cuerdale.

On the coin I have published, the Type is a small cross within an inner circle surrounded by the king's name—reverse, moneyer's name with ME . FEC . in the field.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

EDELSTAN . REX .

MONEYER'S NAME ELDA followed by ME . FEC .

A Coin of Alfred is known differing from this only in the king's name.

* Not in Ruding's list—† One coin of this moneyer has F at the end of his name probably for FECIT.

Our view of the East-Anglian coinage closes with this prince, no coins of Eoríc 890, having been hitherto found.

KENT.

The coins of the kingdom of Kent were formerly placed at the head of those of the Heptarchy, from the circumstance of the most ancient appropriated coins being considered to belong to that kingdom.

The removal however of the coins supposed to belong to Ethelbert and Egbert, to the kingdoms of Northumberland and Mercia, having left Kent without any appropriated coins of an earlier date than the middle, or possibly the latter end of the eighth century, I have given precedence to the three kingdoms whose coinage I have already described.

ETHELBERT II. 749.

The first coin to be noticed is that remarkable one which has been assigned to this prince; it bears on one side the king's bust and the legend **ETHILBERHT. LVL.**, and on the reverse, the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, a device particularly applicable to the reign of two brothers, and bearing the name of Ethelbert, it may naturally be supposed that Ethelbert II. of Kent, who for several years reigned conjointly with his brother Edbert, was the prince whose name appears on this singular coin.

A considerable doubt however exists not only as to its genuineness, but as to its right appropriation to the kingdom of Kent.

As to the former point, I have never seen the coin, but by our most eminent Numismatists it is more than suspected.

As to its appropriation, if it is the work of a forger or imitator, I think there can be little doubt but he intended it as a coin of the Kentish Ethelbert, and the device an allusion to the joint reigns of the two brothers, but if we suppose the coin to be the genuine production of the Anglo-Saxon mint, I am rather inclined to consider Mr. Haigh may be right in supposing it to belong to the East-Anglian Ethelbert who was so basely murdered by Offa.

Mr. Haigh's reasons are first, that it is likely that the coins of the Penny form were first introduced by Offa, and after the termination of the Kentish

Ethelbert's reign, and second that the moneyer's name LVL appears on coins of Offa and Coenwulf, and to these reasons may be added two others, namely that the device of the twin brothers would also apply although not so obviously to the East-Anglian Ethelbert, who was related to and the successor of two kings who reigned conjointly, namely Beorna and Ethelbert, and that the moneyer's name appears in Runic letters, which do not seem to have been used on any Anglo-Saxon coins anterior to the reign of Offa.

As however so many of the most eminent Numismatists have assigned it to Kent, and more particularly as the coin is by many considered as spurious, I have not thought it necessary to remove it from the Kentish series, but I cannot help observing that the very reasons I have just adduced for assigning it to East-Anglia seem to prove also the genuineness of the coin, as in general a forger or imitator would be more apt to consider one remarkable point, than a number of minute or less obvious ones.

EADBEARHT II. 794.

But few remarks can be made on the coins of this king, which are few in number, simple in their types and workmanship, and unquestionable in their appropriation.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF EADBEARHT II.

1. The king's name and title in three lines in the field—reverse, Moneyer's name in three lines in the field.
2. Same obverse—reverse, Moneyer's name in two oval compartments.

KING'S NAME AND TITLE.

EADBEARHT . REX .

MONEYER'S NAME.

TYPE.		TYPE.		TYPE.	
EDELMOD	1	* IAENBERHT	1	TIDHEAH	2

* There seems a possibility that this name may be that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is generally supposed to have died in 790, but the period of his death does not appear to be certain, as Beatson places it in 793.

CVTHRED, 798.

The types of this prince's coins are much less simple than those of his predecessors, and seem copied from those of Mercia, to which kingdom he was tributary. Some of his moneyers worked for Coenwulf, and considering that so few of his coins have been discovered, they exhibit a great many varieties.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF CUTHRED.

- 1.—King's bust—reverse, Cross with wedges in the angles in an inner circle.
2. Cross with wedges in the angles in an inner circle—reverse, a large Tribrach with the moneyer's name in the angles.
3. Do. but Pellets in the angles of the Cross.
4. From a circle containing a small Tribrach and Pellets, three arms projecting and terminating in annulets—reverse same as obverse, but the small Tribrach without Pellets, and the large arms terminating in the form of the Saxon M.
5. From a circle containing a small Tribrach with wedges in the angles, three arms composed of Pellets projecting to the edge—reverse, a large Cross with a circle in the centre, the arms terminating in the Saxon M.
6. Obverse as Type No. 4—reverse, a large Tribrach, the arms composed of single lines terminating in the Saxon letter M, and having wedges in the angles.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

TYPES.						TYPE.	
CVTHRED . REX .	2 . 3 . 4 . 5 . 6					CVTHRED . REX . CANT .	1

MONEYER'S NAMES.

TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.	
DVDA	2 . 5	HEREMODI		VERHEARDI	1
EABA	1 . 2 . 3	SIGEBERHT	4 . 6	* WERHEARD	2
HEREMOD	1	SIGEBERHTI	1		

BALDRED, 805.

The coins of this king are more rude than those of his predecessor, and resemble those of Egbert in type and general appearance; on some of them we find for the first time in the Anglo-Saxon series, the name of the place of

* Not in Ruding's list.

mintage (Canterbury,) and there are a good many varieties of type and moneyer's names on them considering their very great rarity, so that every type is in fact extremely rare.

This prince as well as his predecessor were only the vassals or tributaries of the Mercian kings, and in 823 the kingdom fell into the hands of Egbert who bestowed it as an apanage on his son Ethelwulf.

TYPES OF BALDRED.

1. King's head—reverse, **DRVR . CITS .** in an inner circle.
2. King's bust, very rude—reverse, six or eight wedge-like rays proceeding from a small circle containing a Pellet.
3. Cross and Pellets in an inner circle—reverse, Cross and Pellets in a circle from which project four Saxon Ms.
4. Cross crosslets in an inner circle—reverse, plain Cross in an inner circle.
5. On both sides a plain Cross in an inner circle.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
BALDRED . REX	2	BELDRED . REX	5
_____ CANT	1	_____ CANT	3 . 4

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
DIORMOD	1	OBA	3	* TIDEBEARHT	1
EDELMOD	2	SWEFNERD	4	* WERHEARD	5

ETHELWULF.

The precise period when Ethelwulf was appointed king of Kent by his father is somewhat uncertain, but it was probably soon after the conquest of that kingdom in 823 ; and it seems highly probable that the coins of Ethelwulf bearing the word **CANT**, were struck by him in that kingdom either before he succeeded to the West Saxon throne, or after he had given up Wessex to his son Ethelbald, reserving to himself Kent, under which kingdom was also comprised Sussex and Essex.

* Not in Ruding's list.

The former supposition from the greater length of the period, I should have considered the most probable, did not the occurrence of so great a number of the Kentish coins of Ethelwulf in the Dorking hoard, (unquestionably deposited after the termination of that prince's reign,) rather favour the latter, and the occurrence of three of them in the Gravesend hoard without any other of the numerous types of Ethelwulf, would add still more to the probability of their being struck after he had resigned the kingdom of Wessex.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF ETHELWULF AS KING OF KENT.

1. DORIBI. in an inner circle—reverse, CANT. or CANTA. in an inner circle.
2. CANT. in an inner circle—reverse, a Cross with C.M.A.N. in the angles in an inner circle.
3. Same obverse—reverse, DOPIB. or DORIB. in monogram in an inner circle.

KING'S NAME AND TITLES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
ETHELVVLF. REX. CANT. . . .	1. 2. 3	ETHELWVLF. REX. CANTA. . . .	1

MONEYER'S NAMES.

TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.	
BIARMOTH	1	ETHELERE	1	MANNA	1
BRID	1	ETHELMVND	1	OSMVND	1
DEINEAH	1	HEBECA	2	WEALMEARD	1
EAGMVND	1	HVNBEANT	3	WELMEARD	1
EALGMVND	1	MANINC	1	WILHEM	1
EANMVND	1	MANINE	1		

The coin, Pl. 30, No. 22, Ruding, bearing DORIBI. on one side and a large A on the other, may have been struck when Ethelwulf was king of Wessex and East-Anglia as well as Kent, and if so probably during the period between the death of Ethelstan and the transfer of Wessex to Ethelbald.

Ethelbert was during the period from the death of Ethelwulf to that of Ethelbald king of Kent, but no coins of his appear which can be assigned to that kingdom, although the strong resemblance in type and appearance which No. 3 of his coins in Ruding's 15th plate, bears to the coins of Cuthred with

bust, would strongly incline us to suspect that class of his coins was struck in Kent before he succeeded to the crown of Wessex and the dignity of chief monarch.

After Ethelbert's reign, Kent does not again appear as a separate or independent kingdom.

WESSEX.

It is somewhat singular that the West-Saxon kings always powerful and in whom all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy ultimately centered, should have left us so few specimens of their coinage; indeed the only coins ever assigned to this kingdom were those of Ethelweard and Beorthric now admitted to belong to the East-Angles.

It is not likely however that so powerful a kingdom should have always been deficient in that necessary medium, which in other contemporary kingdoms we find to have been so abundant.

In the short notice I have given of the Skeattas, I have expressed an opinion that several of them, particularly those with the symbol of the Dragon belonged to Wessex, and it would indeed be extraordinary if some of the numerous classes of uncertain coins did not belong to that kingdom.

The Skeattas exhibiting that symbol, (Ruding, Pl. 1, Nos. 32, 36, &c.) appear to belong to the latter part of the seventh and early part of the eighth centuries.

No approach however to an appropriation of these coins can possibly be made, and I therefore proceed to the consideration of such coins as can without question be ascribed to this kingdom.

The earliest which have hitherto been discovered, are those of the great West Saxon monarch Egbert, and formerly ascribed to the son of Offa.

I have however always been of opinion that these coins could not have belonged to the latter, simply because he has always been called in the Anglo-Saxon annals Egfrid and not Egbert, and because the types and moneyer's names which appear on Offa's coins, might as well have been adopted by his contemporary Egbert as by his successor Egfrid; several of our most eminent Numismatists have however now adopted the same opinion, and I shall therefore without further scruple place them amongst the West Saxon coins.

The next question arises as to whether there are any other coins which may be assigned to Egbert as king of Wessex, and I think it will be admitted as nearly certain, that those bearing the words SAXO. or SAXON: were the coinage of that kingdom, and extremely probable they were struck before he succeeded in possessing himself of any of the other kingdoms; I shall therefore treat these two classes of his coins as Heptarchic and the peculiar coinage of Wessex, and it may be observed that rude and simple as the coins of Egbert generally are, those I have just noticed are the most so.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF EGBERT AS KING OF WESSEX.

1. Monogram of RX. in an inner circle, surrounded by the king's name—reverse, a small square, three angles of which terminate in long crosses, the fourth in the letter B.
2. Same obverse—reverse, Moneyer's name between two lines in the field.
3. The letters SAXO. or SAXON. in an inner circle—reverse, a small Cross in an inner circle.

KING'S NAME, AND TITLES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
EGCBERHT	1. 2	ECGBEORHT . REX . SAXO	3
		SAXON	3

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
BABBA	1	BOSA	3	TIDEMAN	3
BEORNEHART	3	* IFA	3	VDD	2
BEORNHEARD	3				

In Mr. Hawkins's work, Pl. 12, No. 158, is given a coin which bears the united symbols of East-Anglia and Mercia, and which I have before noticed in my account of the East-Anglian coinage, p. 50, it has on one side the king's bust ECGBEORHT. RE., reverse, the symbols I have mentioned in an inner circle, and the word SCSANDREAL. which Mr. Haigh considers, and I think with every appearance of probability as intended for the name of St. Andrew.

ETHELWVLF.

Amongst the coins of this prince we meet with several which may be ranked as the production of the West-Saxon mint, some of them bearing the

* Not in Ruding's list.

word *Saxoniorum*, and some the still less doubtful words *Saxoniorum*, *Occidentalium*; both these classes may therefore I think be considered as Heptarchic, and probably struck by Ethelwulf as king of Wessex, at the time that Ethelstan was king of Kent, Sussex and Essex.

Several of Ethelwulf's coins bear the East-Anglian A with the moneyer's names BIARNOTH . DIAR . OSMVND and WILHEAH.

A few of Alfred's coins bear the words *Rex Saxonum*, but I doubt whether these can properly be considered as Heptarchic or pertaining to a particular kingdom, as Alfred from the period of his accession in 871 was king of Kent, Sussex and Essex, as well as of Wessex, and from the death of Ceolwulf II. in 874, king of all England, except East-Anglia and Northumberland.

The East-Anglian A appears on a few of the coins of Ethelred, (Ruding, Pl. 15, No. 5, &c., and also on one of Alfred's, in Pl. 4 of this work.

No coins of the East-Saxons or South-Saxons have hitherto been discovered; it is not probable much money could have been coined by the latter as their kingdom from a very early period was generally subject to Wessex.

Before we take leave of the regal portion of the Heptarchic coinage, it will be necessary to notice a large class of coins, few of which were known before the discovery of the Cuerdale hoard.

These coins which bear the name of the celebrated Siefredus, or Sigefrid, from their types, the locality in which they were found, and above all from the place of mintage, *Ebraice Civ*, which occurs on them, will I think be admitted to belong to the Anglo-Saxon class as much as those of the other, but more domesticated Northmen, Sihtric, Regnald, Anlaf, and Eric.

The adventures of Siefredus in France and other parts of the Continent are well known, but his connection with England was not hitherto suspected or at least attended to.

Mr. Haigh however by a collation of the Saxon Chronicle with the French historical accounts, has elicited the conclusion that the army of Northmen, whose progress through and residence in England the Saxon Chronicle so fully describes, was the same which under Siefredus and Godefrid their leaders is so fully spoken of in the French annals, and that the only difference between the two accounts is, that the French historians supply us with the names of the Northern leaders which the Saxon Chronicle has omitted.

To place this matter in a clearer point of view, I shall briefly lay before the reader the extracts which Mr. Haigh has adduced from the authorities above cited.

The Saxon Chronicle records that in 880, the army of the Northmen embarked from Fulham and sailed to Ghent; that in 882 they marched along the Maese, in 883 along the Scheldt as far as Conde, in 884 along the Somme to Amiens, and thence to Paris which they besieged in 886.

The French annals record the defeat of a large army of Danes in 881, but that they reappeared in great force under their kings Sigefrid and Godefrid, that in 882 they encamped on the *Maese*, in 883 a treaty was made between them and the French king by which their conquests were secured to them, and Godefrid by marriage and conversion to christianity became master of Friseland; he was treacherously assassinated in 884, which gave Sigefrid a pretext for attacking *Amiens* in that year, and after ravaging the country he laid siege to Paris in the winter of 885—6.

From the exact coincidence in the account given by the Saxon Chronicle with that of the French annalists, we cannot doubt that Sigefrid and Godefrid were the leaders under whose command the Danes left England in 880; both accounts record the marches of the same army, the French historian supplying the only point omitted by the Saxon Chronicle, the names of the leaders. Sigefrid and Godefrid II., were defeated and slain in a great battle with the emperor Arnolph near Louvain, in which 100,000 of the Northmen were left dead on the field.

From the circumstance of the coins of Siefredus being all or the greater part minted at York, it may be considered that his name should be appended to those of the Northumbrian kings, but the accounts of the progress of the army which he commanded, would lead us to suppose that his authority was not confined to that part of England.

VARIETIES OF THE COINS OF SIEFREDUS.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
1. SIEFREDVS . REX . Cross crosslet.	EBIAICECIVI . small Cross in an inner circle.
2. Do. Cross with small crosses at the ends.	Do. Do.
3. SIEIEVTR . retrograde, Do.	Do. Do.
4. SIEFREDVS large Cross in an inner circle.	A CR TEN large Cross, the upper limbs crosslet.
5. Do. small Cross Do.	REX . Cross crosslet.
6. Do. Do. large Cross,	REX . plain Cross.
7. SIEFREDVS REX . long Cross on two steps.	EBIAICECIVI . small Cross in an inner circle.
8. * CSIEFRE Do.	Do. Do.

* This coin is a Halfpenny.

In Sir Andrew Fountaine's 9th Plate, is engraved a coin which would appear to belong to Siefredus; it reads SVCFRDNM., reverse EVVRAM. MO: but on a closer inspection of the obverse legend, a suspicion arises that the letters may possibly be transposed and intended for Sc. Eadmund to whose coins it is exactly similar.

ECCLESIASTICAL COINS.

SAINTS.

This branch of the Anglo-Saxon coinage which is nearly as extensive as that I have just described, includes a great number of curious and interesting coins, and is usually divided into two classes, the first bearing the names of St. Peter, St. Edmund, and other Saints in which may be included several others bearing religious devices, the second exhibiting the names and sometimes the portraits of Archbishops, who under the Heptarchic princes enjoyed the privilege of coining money in their own names, a privilege which in some instances they appear to have exercised more extensively even than the kings from whom it was derived.

In the short notice I have given of the Skeattas, I have directed the attention of the reader to several which appear to bear the names of St. Peter and other saints, but as all these will probably be considered as more or less uncertain, I shall proceed to the examination of those coins, whether Pennies, Skeattas, or Stycas, which bear the names of Saints and Archbishops whose appropriation cannot be mistaken or doubted.

Whether the coins bearing the name of St. Peter, or those of St. Eadmund were first minted has been considered a matter of uncertainty; the precedence has generally been given to the former, the immense number however of the coins of St. Eadmund, found at Cuerdale, and which were evidently coined in the latter part of the 9th century, leave no doubt but those of the latter are more ancient than any that have been hitherto appropriated to St. Peter.

A very large number indeed of coins were found in the same hoard which although not actually bearing the name of St. Peter, yet from the religious symbols and inscriptions they exhibit, and their being struck at York, may

perhaps be classed with St. Peter's Pennies, but as they do not appear older than those of St. Edmund in the same hoard, I have given the precedence to the latter, as being certainly more ancient than any that we can unquestionably ascribe to St. Peter.

The Cuerdale hoard amongst the numerous illustrations it has contributed to the Anglo-Saxon coinage, has almost completely fixed the period when the coins bearing the name of St. Edmund were minted, which from a comparison with the coins found along with them was probably about the latter part of the ninth century, and consequently much earlier than the period usually assigned to them.

They are all of exactly the same type, viz. the East Anglian A. in an inner circle on one side, and a small cross in a similar circle on the other, and the only varieties they exhibit, consist of different readings of the saint's name, and different moneyer's names on the other.

The following are the only ones that have occurred to me, but no doubt Mr. Hawkins's account of the Cuerdale hoard when published, will afford an immense addition to the list of moneyers.

VARIETIES OF ST. EADMUND'S NAME AND TITLE.

SCEADMVND . RE .
SCEADMVN . R
SCEEADMVND . RE
_____ RI
SCEADMVNDI .
SCEADMVNDIE .

SCEADMVNI .
_____ E .
SCEADMVNE .
SEADMVMDE
SCEAINMDR

SCEAD .
_____ I .
_____ N .
SCEAIDN .
ICEADI .

MONEYER'S NAMES.

ABBO .
ADRADVS .
ANSIER .
AOALBERT .
AOALBRAN .
BERA .
CIPVI .
COIN .

DEGEMVND .
ELDECAR .
ELISMVS .
ESTALE .
GVLCREO .
IOMAM . ME . FECIT .
ISACES .
ODO .

OTILF .
SEMOND .
SIEMVND .
WINER .
WINIFR .
* WINIOGD .
WNERII .

* On a Halfpenny.

ST. PETER.

That a great portion of the coins bearing the name of St. Peter were minted about the middle of the tenth century, is proved by the strong resemblance between those with the sword and the coins of the Northumbrian Eric, but it is a question of some difficulty whether those without that type are earlier or later than those with it.

The resemblance however which those without the sword bear to the coins of St. Eadmund, is a strong proof that they could not have been coined at a much later period, and we may therefore conclude they were struck before those with the sword, and probably about the early part of the tenth century.

They exhibit a much greater variety of types than those of St. Eadmund, but the legends are in general still more blundered and irregular; the saint's name and title appear on one side, and the place of mintage **EBORACE** on the other, without any moneyer's name.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF ST. PETER.

1. Sword in the field—reverse, Cross and Pellets in an inner circle.
2. Do. —reverse, a Building.
3. Do. —reverse, a Hammer.
4. Saint's name and title in two or three lines in the field—reverse, Cross in an inner circle.
5. Saint's name and title in two lines—reverse, Monogram of *Carlus* in an inner circle.
6. Same as No. 4, but wedges in the angles of the Cross.

VARIETIES OF ST. PETER'S NAME AND TITLE.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
SCIPETRI.	4	SEPETRIIO.	1	SCIETPIIO.	2
— M.	6	SCHETRIP.	4	SCIETRN.	5
— MO.	4	SCIETIIO.	2 . 3 . 4	SCIETPII.	4
SCIPETRIIO.	1 . 4	SCIITRIP.	4	SCNETINO.	4

And others still more irregular.

VARIETIES OF THE NAME OF THE MINT.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
EBORACEC.	4	EBRACEC.	4	BRACEC.	4
— I.	4	EBRAICIT.	5	RDORACEI.	1
— V.	1 . 4 . 6	IBORACECI.	4	RORACED.	1
EBORACEI.	1	— V.	4	IOBEVRIT.	3
— I.	1	BORACE.	4	ERIVIITM.	2

And several others altogether unintelligible.

ST. MARTIN.

The few coins which bear the name of this saint were struck at Lincoln, of which city he appears to have been the tutelar saint, and from their extreme similarity to those of St. Peter with the sword, appear to have been minted about the same time, that is the middle of the tenth century.

They present only one type and two varieties of legend, viz. :—

SCIMARTI. a sword in the field—Reverse, LINCOIA. CIVIT. a small Cross within a cruciform compartment, all within an inner circle.

* Another specimen has the legend INCOIA. CIVT.

ST. ANDREW.

Mr. Haigh has suggested that a coin of Egbert, published by Mr. Hawkins, No. 158, presents on the reverse the name of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Rochester, in which city he supposes the coin to be minted; this coin bears in the field the letters A and M united, and the legend SCSAN-DREAL, the last letter being probably intended for an S, and the appropriation of it to this saint, appears to be well founded.

ARCHBISHOPS.

That the Archbishops of Canterbury and York enjoyed from a very early period, the privilege of coining money in their own names, is evident from the numerous specimens of their coinage which have been discovered. When it was first exercised by them is uncertain, but there is strong reason for supposing that the Archbishops of York coined money before those of Canterbury, and as the first coins of this class we meet with, are those of Egbert Archbishop of York, brother to king Eadbert, we shall commence with those of that See.

YORK.

The coins struck by the Archbishops of this See are all Skeattas and Stycas, as those of Canterbury are of the Penny form, and although the latter are of greater variety as well as more interest and importance, the former are infinitely more numerous.

* Another is given in the Pembroke Plates with the legend LINCOLIA. CIVT.

They commence as I have just said with Egbert, whose coins were formerly assigned to the king of Kent of that name.

ECGBERHT, 735.

The coins of this Prelate are all Skeattas except one Styca which has not long since been discovered, the former are generally of rather base silver, and all exhibit on one side the name of the Archbishop, and the name of the king of Northumberland on the other. On the Styca and one of the Skeattas the king whose name appears is Edilwald, and on all the rest Eadberht the brother of the Archbishop.

VARIETIES OF THE COINS OF ECGBERHT ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

1. ECGBERHT . figure standing holding a Cross in each hand—reverse, EOTBEREHTVS . small Cross.
2. Do. but Cross on the reverse in an inner circle.
3. ECGBERHT . small Cross—reverse, EDILVALD . small Cross.
4. EGBERHT . AR . . . Do. . . —reverse, ATHBALDIS . Do.

The three first are Skeattas, the fourth a Styca.

On one of the coins of the class assigned to Eadberht king of Northumberland, and which bear the Lion on one side, we find on the other the name EAGBEREHTVS which would appear to be that of the Archbishop, but it may be remarked that the G is turned backwards, and of a square form and quite different from that letter on his other coins, and somewhat resembling a D, for which letter it may probably be intended; but if the name is really EAGBEREHTVS, it is the only instance of this Archbishop's coins which appears without the king's name on the other side.

EANBALD II. 796.

After Egbert, the next Archbishop of York whose coins we meet with is Eanbald II., for to him the Stycas bearing that name are assigned, and I have no doubt with propriety from their resemblance in types and moneyers to those of the contemporary king of Northumberland Eanred; they were formerly extremely rare, but the discovery at Hexham has brought to light a considerable number of them.

VARIETIES OF ARCHBISHOP'S NAME AND TITLES.

EANBALD .	EANBALD AR .	EANBALD AER .
_____ I .	_____ ARE .	_____ ARCE
_____ V .	_____ AREP .	

And a few blundered and irregular.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

* EADWOLF .	* EDILVARDI .	* EODWLFI .
EADVVLV .	EDILVEARD .	* EVNVLF .
* EDILVARD .	* EODWLF .	* EVRNVLF .

And a great number blundered and the letters transposed.

VIGMVND, 831.

The coins of this Prelate which are also Stycas, are very numerous; they resemble those of Ethelred, and some of the moneyers of the former appear also to have worked for the latter and his successors Redulf and Osbercht.

VARIETIES OF ARCHBISHOP'S NAMES AND TITLES.

VIGMVND .	VIGMVND . ARE .	VIGMVND . IR .
_____ AR .	_____ AREP .	_____ IREP .

The I and R on the two last Titles were probably intended to form the monogram of AR.

MONEYER'S NAMES.

COENRED .	* EDELHELM .	FROINNE .
* EADILVARD .	* EDILVAERD .	HVNLAFF .
† EALDHELM .	EDILVEARD .	

VVLFFHERE, 854.

The coins of this Prelate are also Stycas, and rather ruder than those of his predecessor; they are very rare and only one moneyer's name is to be found on them; this is the last Archbishop of York of whom we have coins, and I may here observe that the types of almost all the Stycas as well Regal as Ecclesiastical, although exhibiting many minute varieties, are so similar as to require no specific classification, which would be both difficult and uninteresting.

* Not in Ruding's list.—† Ruding reads EVLPHELM.

VARIETIES OF ARCHBISHOP'S NAME AND TITLE.

VVLFHRE ABEP.

ABP.

VVLFHRE-REP.

VVLFRE.

MONEYER'S NAME, VVLFRED.

CANTERBVRY.

IAENBERHT, 763.

The first Ecclesiastical coin of the See of Canterbury which occurs, is one of Archbishop Jaenberht who possessed that See from 763 to 790 according to some accounts, or 792 according to others.

It bears on the obverse, IAENBERHT. AR×EP, and a flower of eight leaves within an inner circle—Reverse, OFFA. REX. in two oval compartments joined together.

There is also a coin of Eadberht II. king of Kent, noticed in the note to p. 60 of this work, which may possibly belong to this Prelate, but the want of the title of Archbishop to the name of Jaenberht, and the uncertainty relative to the period of his decease, render this appropriation far from satisfactory.

AETHILHEARD, 790.

The coins of this Prelate present us with the names of two Mercian princes Offa and Coenwulf, whose reigns were contemporary to the period during which he possessed the See of Canterbury.

The occurrence of the title PONTI. on a coin of his bearing the name of Offa, whilst those bearing the name of Coenwulf exhibit the Archiepiscopal title, together with the state of the Anglo-Saxon Church at that period, and the translation to Lichfield of the Archiepiscopal jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the See of Canterbury over the kingdoms of Mercia and East-Anglia, are considered by a learned and ingenious writer, (L.Y.H.) in the Numismatic Chronicle for April 1840, p. 210, as illustrative of this period of Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical history, and as proving that Aethilheard did not assume the title of Archbishop until the reign of Coenwulf, when the See of Canterbury was again restored to its former pre-eminence.

Mr. Hawkins has however discovered a coin of this Prelate which seems to overturn this supposition, and to shew that during the reign of Offa, Aethilheard had not relinquished the Archiepiscopal title.

This coin is noticed by Mr. Hawkins in the Numismatic Chronicle for January 1841, and bears the name of Offa on one side, and that of Aethilheard with the title of Archbishop on the other.

Rapin, (Vol. 1, p. 242, 8vo.) mentions that Coenwulf was prevailed on by the *Archbishops* of Canterbury and York, who represented to him that according to the regulation of Gregory I., there ought to be two (that is only two) Archbishops in England, to write to the Pope to desire him to put things on their ancient foot again, and we may therefore I think consider that however the extent of his jurisdiction may have been limited, Aethilheard still retained the title of Archbishop and jurisdiction over those Sees which did not belong to Mercia and East-Anglia; the title of *Pontifex* is indeed a singular one, but if the title of Archbishop had been taken away, it is more likely that substituted in its place would have been *Episcopus*.

VARIETIES OF THE COINS OF AETHILHEARD.

1. AEDILHEARD..PONTI. Cross crosslet in an inner circle—reverse, OFFA. in the field between two semicircular compartments containing the letters REX. M.
2. AEDILHEARD. AR. with EP. in an inner circle—reverse as last.
3. Obverse as last—reverse, COENVVLF. REX. M. a Tribrach.
4. Same as last, but A. instead of AR. on the obverse.
5. Obverse as No. 2—reverse, COENVVLF. REX. with M. in an inner circle.

VVLFRED, 803.

The coins of this Prelate exhibit a great many varieties of type and legend, but they are all extremely rare and many of them unique.

On one class we find his bust surrounded by the moneyer's name in place of the Archbishop's, and the place of mintage on the reverse, these coins have been generally ranked amongst the uncertain coins, but the moneyer's name *Saeberht* leaves no doubt of their being correctly appropriated to Vulfred.

There is also another class generally considered as uncertain, which bear a side face like Egbert's and also surrounded by a moneyer's name; and these it is equally certain must be assigned to the chief monarch, but it is not easy

to account for the absence of the names of the king and Archbishop, and the most probable conjecture that can be offered, seems to be that Egbert was unwilling to put his own name on the coins of a newly conquered kingdom, and that Vulfred through deference to his sovereign followed his example.

The coins of this Prelate with bust extending to the edge, from their resemblance to those of Ceolnoth were probably struck last; a singular coin of this class in Mr. Sainthill's cabinet has the Archbishop's name without any title.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF VULFRED.

1. Bust of the Archbishop, full face extending to the edge—reverse, Monogram within an inner circle.
2. Do.—Reverse, DOROVERNIA . CIVITAS . in four lines in the field.
3. Do. Bust within an inner circle—reverse, same as last.
4. Do. —reverse, Cross crosslet within an inner circle.
5. Do. very rude—reverse, DRV . CITS . in an inner circle.
6. Do. —reverse. Monogram within an inner circle.
7. Do. surrounded by moneyer's name—reverse, DOROVERNIA CIVITAS . in three or four lines in the field.

ARCHBISHOP'S NAME AND TITLE.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
VULFRED . ARCHIEPI	1	VULFREDI . ARCHIEPISCOP	4 . 6 .
— S	3 . 5	VULFRED . (without title.)	2

MINT WITHOUT MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPE.
DOROVERNIA . CIVITAS	2 . 3	DOROVERNIE . CIVITATIS	4

MONEYER'S NAMES.

	TYPE.		TYPES.		TYPES.
* LVNING	7	SAEBERHT	1 . 6 . 7 .	* SWEFNERD	5 . 7 .

CEOLNOTH, 830.

The coins of this Prelate are numerous and of great variety, and exceedingly interesting from the resemblance they bear to the contemporary princes, particularly Ethelwulf, Ethelbert, Burgred, and Alfred, many of whose moneyers appear to have worked for Ceolnoth.

* Not in Ruding's list.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF CEOLNOTH.

1. Bust of Archbishop, full face extending to the edge—reverse, Cross moline intersecting a Mascle containing a small Cross, all within an inner circle.
2. Same bust—reverse, small Cross with CIVITAS in the angles in an inner circle.
3. Same bust—reverse, Monogram of Christ in an inner circle.
4. Do. with wedges or Pellets in the angles of the Cross.
5. Same bust—reverse, Monogram.
6. Same bust—reverse, Moneyer's name and designation on the arms of a Cross.
7. Same bust—reverse, Moneyer's name and designation in three lines, the upper and lower in semicircular compartments.
8. Side faced bust extending to the edge—reverse, as last.

ARCHBISHOP'S NAME AND TITLE.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
CIALNOTH . ARC	5	CEOLNOTH . ARCHIEP . . .	1 . 6 . 7 . 8
ARCE	5	CEOLNOTH ARHIEPI . . .	2
ARCES	4	ARHIEI	2
ARCEPIS	3		

MINTS WITH MONEYSER'S NAMES.

	TYPE.		TYPE.	
DORO	1	DOROVERB	2	DORVERN .

MINT WITHOUT MONEYSER'S NAME.

	TYPE.
DOROVERNIA	2

MONEYSER'S NAMES.

	TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.
BEARNRED .		ETHELVALD . . .	6	* SWEBHEARD . . .	4
BIANRED .		HEBECA	6 . 7 .	SVIBHEARD	4
* BIANRED	6	HEREBEARHT . . .	6	* TOCCA	6 . 8
BIARNRED	6	LIABINCG	6	TOCGA	6
BIARNVLF	6	* LIABINECA	6	WINHERE	3
BIORNMOD	3 . 4 . 5	LIL	2	WNERE	3 . 5
CEALMOD	6	LI	2	WNERE	4
CENVAN	6	SVEBHEARD	3 . 4 .	WNRE .	
CIALMOD	6	SVEBWEARD .		WVNERE	3
DIALA	1				

* Not in Ruding's list.

I agree with L. Y. H. in the Numismatic Chronicle for April 1840, that Types 3, 4, 5, which bear CIALNOTH, were the first struck, but I think Types 1, 2 were struck before Type 6, and Types 7, 8 after.

Indeed the similitude between Type 6, and some of Ethelwulf's and Ethelbert's, and between Types 7, 8, and those of Burgred and Ethelred I., leave no doubt as to the correctness of this arrangement.

ETHERED, 871.

Considering the number of years this Prelate possessed the See of Canterbury, it is surprising that only one specimen of his money has hitherto been discovered; this coin which is in the British Museum appears to be of finer work than most of the coins of that period; it bears the Archbishop's bust, side faced and extending to the edge, but having the head in an inner circle, surrounded by the Archbishop's name and title **ETHERED ARCHIEPI.**—reverse, a Quatrefoil, enclosing a Cross and circle, round which is the moneyer's name, **ETHERED. MO.**, with the remaining letters **NETA.** round the Quatrefoil.

PLEGMVND, 889.

The coins of this Archbishop none of which exhibit the bust, were extremely rare until the Cuerdale hoard disclosed a considerable number of them, I have not however been able to add many to the varieties already published of this Prelate's coins, but have no doubt Mr. Hawkins's account of this hoard will supply the deficiency.

TYPES ON THE COINS OF PLEGMUND.

1. Figure probably intended for a Pastoral Staff in an inner circle—reverse, Moneyer's name in the field with Crosses and Pellets.
2. Large Cross in an inner circle—reverse, as last.
3. Small Cross in an inner circle—reverse, Do.
4. **DORO.** in an inner circle—reverse, Do.

ARCHBISHOP'S NAME AND TITLE.

	TYPES.		TYPES.
PLEGMVND, ARCHIEP	1 . 3	PLEGMVD . ARCHIEP	4
————— ACHIEP	2	PLEGMVND ORO, retrograde	3

MINT,		DORO		TYPES.	
				3. 4	
MONEYERS.					
TYPES.		TYPES.		TYPES.	
AETHELVLF	1	EICMVND	2. 3	* HVNRETH	4
* ETHELVLF	3	ENSAM	3	SIGEHEIMNOR	3

Athelstan having taken away from the Archbishops the privilege of coining money in their own names, the Ecclesiastical series terminates with Plegmund; there remains however to be noticed a number of uncertain coins which appear to be Ecclesiastical and which I have classed as such; by far the greatest portion of these were part of the Cuerdale hoard which has exhibited so many curious and hitherto unknown specimens of the Anglo-Saxon mint.

In Plates 2 and 3 of this work, I have given as many of these uncertain coins as either came under my personal observation, or as I could procure drawings or impressions of, but it is probable Mr. Hawkins's description of the Cuerdale hoard will produce a far greater variety.

DESCRIPTION OF UNCERTAIN COINS SUPPOSED TO BE ECCLESIASTICAL.

1. Small cross in an inner circle EBRAICE CIVITAS—reverse, a plain cross ACRTEN. the A.C.T. and N. joined to the ends of the cross.
2. Same obverse but CIV.—same reverse, but the letters not joined to the ends of the cross.
3. Small cross with pellets in two angles, in an inner circle EBIAICE. CIV.—reverse, a large cross, the upper limb crosslet ACRTEN.
4. Same obverse, but CI.—same reverse, but BACRTI.
5. Large cross, the upper limb crosslet EBRAICEC.—reverse, small cross with pellets in two angles in an inner circle MIRABILIA. FEI.
6. Same obverse, but EBRAECEC.—reverse, as last, but legend IIIRABIIA. FECT.
7. Small cross with pellets in two angles in an inner circle MIRABILIA FEI.—reverse, large cross with upper limb crosslet ACRTEN.
8. Small cross with pellets in two angles in an inner circle CVNNETTI.—reverse, large plain cross ACRTEN.
9. Same obverse—reverse, cross with upper arm crosslet ACRTEN.
10. Same type CVNNTI.—reverse, as last but ACRTN.
11. Do. CIIIINTTI.—reverse, Do. but ACRTIN.
12. Do. CVNNETTI.—reverse, Do. but ACRTIB.
- †13. Do. Do. —reverse, plain cross ACRTEN.

* Not in Ruding's list.—† Thus marked is a Halfpenny.

* 14. Monogram of *Carlus* in an inner circle CVNNETTI.—reverse, cross with upper arm crosslet ACRTEN.

* 15. Long cross on one step EVERAT.—reverse, ME FECIT. in two lines in the field.

16. Small cross with pellets in two angles in an inner circle MIRABILIA FECIT.—reverse, DNSDSOREX in two lines in the field.

17. Same type MIDABIA. FECIT.—reverse, as last.

A few remarks on these uncertain coins may not be unacceptable, although I confess myself unable to offer any very satisfactory explanation of them.

The first four were minted at York, the name of which city appears on one side, but the legend ACRTEN. on the other is both singular and difficult of interpretation.

From the symbol of the Cross which invariably accompanies it, it would appear not unlikely that the three first letters ACR were intended for *A. Cristo.* or *A. Cruce.*, and the three last TEN. for *teneo*, and the whole legend denoting the person or symbol under which the Ecclesiastical power was held; the last three letters may perhaps admit of some other construction, but the meaning I have attached to the three first, I consider as in a very high degree probable; several distinguished Numismatists have approved of this interpretation, but I must admit that two of the most eminent (Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Haigh) have differed from me on the subject.

Mr. Hawkins's explanation I am not acquainted with, but it will probably appear in his account of the Cuerdale hoard; the opinion of Mr. Haigh is that this singular legend should be read CNVT. REX., the four first letters being placed at the ends of the cross, and the three last occurring between the former, and he supposes the coins to belong to one of those Northern princes, who like Siefredus extended his conquests over so large a portion of England during the reign of Alfred.

The appropriation is an ingenious one, but the legends on some of these coins appear to furnish arguments against it, for in the first place the letter which Mr. Haigh supposes to be V, is similar to the A, in the words *Ebraice*, *Civitas*, and *Mirabilia*, and on Pl. 2, No. 61, the letter is unquestionably A, and on the same coin the legend is BACRTI, and on No. 77, ACRTN, and No. 78, ACRTIN; these legends I will admit are equally opposed to my interpretation of the letters 'TEN', the reader will however perceive that I have

* Thus marked are Halfpence.

not attached the same degree of probability to the interpretation of these letters as I have of the letters ACR., which I am strongly inclined to consider as intended for A CRISTO or CRVCE.

Nos. 5, 6 were also minted at York, and are evidently of the same class, as is also No. 7, although wanting the name of the city.

Nos. 8—14, are of a different class, bearing on one side the legend CVN-NETTI. which some suppose to be the name of a mint, and some that of a moneyer; the matter is one of much uncertainty, and I can offer nothing at all decisive on the subject, but am rather inclined to consider that word as the name of a mint, although amongst the numerous places of mintage exhibited on Anglo-Saxon coins, I can find nothing nearer to it than CNET. on a coin of Canute, and CNI on one of the Confessor's.

Mr. Haigh is also of opinion that it is the name of a mint which he supposed to have been the *Cuneet* of Domesday, now *Cound* in Shropshire, and this supposition seems not improbable.

No. 15, which is a halfpenny, bears a type which we find on coins of Siefredus and Alfred, but with the name only of a moneyer, and I think it must belong to one of these princes but to which is uncertain.

Nos. 16, 17, bear a legend which would appear to assign them to the French series, if we interpret DNS. DS. O. REX to signify *Dominus (est) Deus, Odo (est) Rex.*, but the type and appearance are similar to some of those I have described, and there can I think be little doubt they were minted in England, and may possibly belong to one of those unknown Danish princes who at that period disputed the kingdom with Alfred.

ANGLO-SAXON GOLD COINAGE.

Two specimens of this class having lately been discovered, it will be expected that I should offer a few observations on the subject.

That the Anglo-Saxons coined but few pieces in this metal will I believe be readily admitted, indeed until the discovery of the coins just alluded to, it was generally supposed they did not strike any, as in addition to the fact that amongst the great quantity of Anglo-Saxon coins discovered from time to time no gold coins occurred, the Northern nations at that period were known in

payment of large sums to have used Rings and Ingots of gold and silver, together with no inconsiderable quantity of Roman and Byzantine gold coins.

In the Numismatic Journal for April 1838, Mons. Longperier directed public attention to a gold coin which has been for many years in the French king's cabinet; it is of the class called *Trientes*, and bears on the obverse a head helmeted and crowned with pearls EVSEBII MONITA.—reverse, a cross moline DOROVERNIS. CIVITAS., weight twenty-nine grains.

Mons. Longperier considered it probable that from the occurrence of the word DOROVERNIS. on this coin, and its close resemblance to coins minted in French cities in the sixth and seventh centuries, it was struck by the Britons or Saxons at that period.

Some of our most eminent Numismatists however regarded it rather as belonging to the French series, principally on the ground that there was no instance to be found of the word DOROVERNIS occurring in any record relating to Canterbury.

This supposition has been completely overturned by Mr. Haigh, who has discovered that in several Charters of the Kentish kings from 675 to 778, the name is spelt DOROVERNIS; that in the Ecclesiastical history of Beda, the only variation from that name is DORVERNIS., and that the change to DOROVERNIA. seems to have taken place about the latter end of the eighth century, when it first occurs in a Charter of 790.

Mr. Haigh has thus established the fact that the name of the mint which appears on the coin is precisely that of Canterbury during the seventh century, at the beginning of which he supposes it to have been struck in that city.

With this supposition I completely agree, and I think it likely it was struck during the long reign of Ethelbert which began in 568 and terminated in 616, and whose marriage with Bertha the daughter of the French king Cherebert, would render it likely that he should have brought over moneyers from that kingdom, and copied the French coinage which at that period had attained so high a degree of perfection, and to which this coin bears so strong a resemblance.

That gold was at a very early period struck in Kent, appears from a passage of Beda, quoted by Wise, p. 228, "*Aurum illud numisma quod de Cantia venerat,*" Lib. 3, c. 8.

The only other specimen of Anglo-Saxon gold coinage which has been discovered is one of the Confessor's in the cabinet of Mr. Spurrier, the genuineness of which was at first much questioned, but I believe it is now admitted to belong to the king whose name it bears, but whether intended for circulation or a proof from the die of the Silver is not so certain; it is published in the last edition of Ruding, Pl. H, No. 44, and bears on the obverse the king's bust helmeted, and with sceptre **EDPERD . REX** .—reverse, a Cross with two circles in the centre, and an annulet in one quarter **LVFINC . ON . PAERIN C**.

In the Pembroke Plates, Pl. 23, No. 1, is given a gold piece of Archbishop Vigmund, which Wise has copied in Pl. XVII., but that author did not consider it as an Anglo-Saxon coin, as in p. 229, he says "*sed forte inter Nummos honorarios numerari debet.*"

Our view of the Heptarchic coinage here terminates, but a considerable number of Mints and Moneyers of the Chief or Sole Monarchs having been discovered since the publication of Ruding, I shall proceed to enumerate such of them as have occurred to me, together with some observations which a few remarkable ones have suggested.

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LIST OF MINTS AND MONEYS
OF
THE CHIEF OR SOLE MONARCHS,
NOT PUBLISHED BY RUDING.

(a) Thus marked are mints and moneys altogether different from those published by Ruding, the rest are varieties of those he has already given.

ECGBEORHT, 827.

MONEYER, a EDELMOD.

ETHELWVLF, 837.

MONEYS.

a FORHTOLF. | WEALMEARD.

AETHELBEARHT, 860.

MONEYER, MANNING.

AETHELRED I. 866.

MONEYS.

a DEMENEE. | a LIABINE.

AELFRED, 872.

MINTS.

a EAX. | a WIN.
a LINCOLIA. | a Uncertain, Pl. 4, No. 5. *

* The extraordinary and most perplexing monogram on this singular coin has exercised the ingenuity of every Numismatist to whom it has been submitted, but as far as I am able to judge without much success. Mr. Haigh considers it to contain the letters DORNGISE. or PIGORNSE. the former of which he supposes may be intended for *Dorchester*, and the latter for *Worcester*. I cannot however say I am satisfied with either of these interpretations; the coin I have never seen, but my first idea on seeing an impression of it was that the monogram was intended for LONDON SF. the S being sometimes used instead of a C in *Civitas*, and although far from being satisfied with this explanation, I have not been able to discover a more probable one.

MONEYERS.

<i>a</i> BERNFALD .	<i>a</i> DVDIG .	<i>a</i> IAIA .
<i>a</i> BERNTVLD .	EDELVLF .	<i>a</i> LVDIG .
<i>a</i> BERNVALD .	<i>a</i> ELDA . (ME FEC)	<i>a</i> REGINGIED .
<i>a</i> BERWALD .	† <i>a</i> ELI .	† <i>a</i> VDBERN .
<i>a</i> BVGA .	<i>a</i> EREWERD .	<i>a</i> WANBERHT .
* CVDBERIT .	<i>a</i> ETHELSTAN .	<i>a</i> VVLFRED .
<i>a</i> DEIGMVND .	‡ <i>a</i> HERIBERT .	<i>a</i> WVLFRED .
<i>a</i> DIARMVND .		

In the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1841, is given an impression of one of Alfred's rarest types discovered on a lump of lead lately dug up; it was probably used as a trial piece by the moneyer, who mutilated it on discovering some defect in the type or legend.

The moneyer's name appears to be blundered.

EDWARD THE ELDER, 901.

MONEYERS.

<i>a</i> AETHELRED .	<i>a</i> EARWARD .	§ <i>a</i> RIORNBED .
BEAGSTAN .	<i>a</i> EOFRMVND .	<i>a</i> SPROV .
<i>a</i> BVRDEN . (MEE . FECIT)	<i>a</i> FRITHEBERHT .	<i>a</i> TILA .
<i>a</i> DEORA .	GARARD .	<i>a</i> TORHTELM .
<i>a</i> DEORNRED .	<i>a</i> LIOFHELM .	<i>a</i> VVLLAF .
<i>a</i> DVDIG .	|| MANNA . MANNA .	

A great number of the moneyer's names on this king's coins are blundered and unintelligible.

* On Halfpence.—† On the large piece, Hawkins, No. 178.

‡ On the obverse.—The king's name does not occur on this coin, and that of the moneyer (*Heribert*,) which appears on the obverse, has by some eminent Numismatists been supposed to be that of the Earl of the County, or Lord of the town (Lincoln,) where it was struck, from the circumstance of the Ordinance of Athelstan having directed that there should be but one kind of money throughout the kingdom.

This enactment however seems to me rather directed against those uncertain coins of an Ecclesiastical appearance which occurred in such numbers in the Cuerdale hoard, and must have then formed no inconsiderable portion of the specie of the kingdom; the coin in question has every appearance of being one of Alfred's, and the occurrence of the moneyer's name instead of the king's is not uncommon, such being found on coins of Egbert, Archbishop Wulfred, and on No. 82 of the plates of this work.

|| The moneyer's name repeated.—§ For BIORNRED.

ÆTHELSTAN, 925.

MINTS.

<i>a</i> AMTVN. VRB.	LONDONICI.	† <i>a</i> NIE.
<i>a</i> DARENT. VRB.	LOND. CIFI.	<i>a</i> ROF. CIVIT.
EFER. CI.	LVND CI.	SNOTENECHAM.
* <i>a</i> LANGPORT.	LVNER.	SNOTENICHAM.
LIEC.		

Southampton (Amtun) and Rochester were two of the places of mintage appointed by Athelstan, but of which mints no specimens were until lately discovered, Lewes, Hastings, Chichester, and according to Leland, Dorchester were also appointed but no coins of these mints have yet appeared.

MONEYSERS.

<i>a</i> AELFNOTH.	<i>a</i> BALDVIN.	<i>a</i> FRITHEBRIHT.
AELLAF.	<i>a</i> BELGE.	<i>a</i> GARVIF.
<i>a</i> AETHELBERT.	BEORHTVLF.	<i>a</i> HVNGAR.
AETHELM.	BVRDE.	<i>a</i> MALA.
<i>a</i> AETHELERD. MO. EFCT	BVRHTELM.	<i>a</i> OSVLFESHT.
<i>a</i> AETHELRED.	DEGN.	<i>a</i> REGENGRIM.
<i>a</i> AETHELWINE	EADMVND.	<i>a</i> SIGFOLDES.
ARNVLF.	EALHSTAN.	WLFSAN.
ARNVVLF	† <i>a</i> EIE.	<i>a</i> WVLFSIG.
<i>a</i> ASVLE.	<i>a</i> ELE.	<i>a</i> WVLSIG.
<i>a</i> ATHELMVND.	FROTGER.	

EADMVND, 941.

MINTS.

NORTHWI.	NORTHWIC.	NORVE.
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MONEYSERS.

AELFVAL.	CLACMONE.	MANNAN.
<i>a</i> AELFVINE.	<i>a</i> EADGAR.	<i>a</i> NRODEARN.
<i>a</i> BARBE.	<i>a</i> EADWEARD.	<i>a</i> REINGRHSIOH.

* In Somersetshire near Somerton.—† Probably for ELE.

† Mr. Sainthill who has in the Numismatic Journal for July 1837, made some valuable observations on the Anglo-Saxon mints, supposes this place to be Newent in Gloucestershire, and I think with propriety.

EADRED, 946.

MINTS.

*a AEMI.	EXONE.	†a LENCOIA. (Pl. 4, No. 112.)
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MONEYSERS.

a ALBERT.	a ARE.	CLAC.
a ANNA.	BALDWIN.	a ETHELNOTH.
a ARNVLF.	a CILIENI.	a NORTHGAR.

EADWIG, 955.

MONEYSERS.

a AETHELGAR.	a FANEEL.	a SEDEMAN.
EFRARD.		

EADGAR, 959.

MINTS.

C.	a LIME.	‡ VR. DBY.
DE.	a MEALD.	WILTVNE.
E.	§ NA.	WILTVIII.
a HVNTE.	NO.	WINTONI.
† INN.		

MONEYSERS.

AELFSIG.	DEORVLF.	ELFRED.
AELFSTE.	a DODNORTH.	a ETHELM.
AETHERED.	DVRAN.	FARTHEN.
a ANDREAS.	a EADMER.	FARTHINE.
a ASFERD.	EADMVN.	a FLODCER.
BRTLER.	a EADVLF.	FREODRIC.
a DEORLAF.	a EARVLE.	FREOTHFIRIC.

* Mr. Hawkins supposes this name to be blundered and he is probably right, but it is possible it may be the commencement of a name which the moneyer neglected to complete, and if so it may be *Ambrosburg*, which appears to have been a place of considerable note at this period, a Synod having been held there in Eadgar's reign; the word ON instead of MO. is singular on so early a coin.

† The Greek L is here used at the commencement of the name of the mint.

‡ Intberge in Worcestershire.

§ Perhaps intended for HA (Hamton.)—|| Derby.

MONEYS.

* FRETHICES.	a LOWMAN	†a THINERN.
FROTHRIC.	MANAI.	THVRIMOD.
a HILTVNE.	MANIA.	a WILSIG.
a INEELRIES.	a MANNER.	WIN.
a ISEMBERT.	MANTAT.	a WIRIM.
a ISVLf.	MVN.	a WLFric.
a LEOFINCES.	a OSFERD.	a WVLFric.
a LEOFNEL.	OTHELRIHT.	WLSTAN.
LEOFSIC.	a RADSTAN.	a YPIFERTH.

In clearing away the rubbish at St. Bartholomew's Church, London, a Half-penny of this king has been lately found, it bears on the obverse a small Cross within an inner circle EADGAR . REX .—reverse, the moneyer's name WIN . in the field between two long crosses.

EADWARD THE MARTYR, 975.

MONEYS.

BRIHFERTH.	BRINFERTH.	CVNEM.
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ÆTHELRED II. 979.

MINTS.

a BRVD.	LEAWGE	SVDG.
a BRYIDGE.	LEGE.	SVTHGE
BVCCI.	LIHER.	SVTH.
CAEW.	LVNDENE.	a TOGA.
†a CIMA.	§ALDMES.	a TOTA.
COL	OXAN.	a WAERI.
EFE.	O	WALIN
EOFRWI.	SCEFT.	WELI
GIFLES.	SCROB.	WINEET.
HAMT.	a STED.	WINTCS.

* This moneyer's name is in the Genitive case, as are also the names *Leofinces*, *Ineelries*, (probably intended for *Ingelrics*,) &c., an occurrence common on the coins of this king, and as the reader will perceive frequently appearing also on those of Athelstan, Edmund, Edred and Edwy, but after Eadgar, the practice seems to have been discontinued.

† This is probably the same moneyer as *Winenr* in *Ruding's* list.

‡ This is perhaps a blundered inscription.

§ MEALDMES. The discovery of the very singular coin of Ethelred, bearing the name of this place of mintage, furnishes us with unquestionable evidence, that the word MEALD, hitherto considered to

MONEYPERS.

a AEDELGAR.
a AELFGETS.
a AELFRIC.
 AELFWI.
a AESCMAN.
 AETHELM.
a AETHELWIG.
 ALFWINE.
a AREHOLD.
a ARNTHVR.
a BERHMAER.
 BIORNVLF.
a BRINTWINE.
 BRVNTNOD.
a BYRH TALF.
a BYRH TLAF.
a BYRHTRIC.
 BVRNSICE.
 BYRNSILE.
 BYRTNOD.

a CETELL.
a CYTEL.
a CYTELMAN.
a EADELM.
 EDELNOTH.
 EDESTAN.
 ELEMOD.
 ELFNOD.
a ELFRIC.
 ELFWALD.
a FORNA.
 HVDVLF.
a HVNEWINE.
a HWATMAN.
a IEARVLF.
 LEFRIC.
a LEOEVELM.
a LEOFSVNV.
 LEOFWIC.

a LVDA.
 MANA.
a OBAN.
a OELD.
 SVMERLETH.
 SVMERLIDA.
 SVMRLIDA.
 SWARTCAR.
a SWILEMAN.
 THOROLF.
 THORSTAN.
 TVNEMAN.
 VATFERTH.
a VNNVLF.
 WILMVND.
a WINE.
 WONSTAN.
a WVLFRED.
 WVLFWINE.

CNVT.

MINTS.

BEDFOR.
**a* CASSOWI.
 CAS.
 CET.
 COLN.

a CRVCE.
 DOE.
 DOF.
 DORCEST.
 ECESTAE.

EOER.
 GRANT.
 HERE.
 LEIECE.
 LVDI.

denote *Maldon* was often at least intended for Malmesbury, for if we look to Ruding, Pl.22, No.13, we shall find that the reverse exhibits the legend Ealdred Mo. Meald., the moneyer's name being the same as on this coin which evidently exhibits also the name of the same mint only at full length; the attribution of the coin in Ruding and others bearing the same word to Maldon, was caused by the words MAELDV. and MAELDVNE, and which no doubt signify *Maldon*, appearing on other coins of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs.

It may be however observed that where the mint is unquestionably *Maldon*, the word commences MAELD. whilst the coin in Ruding, (No.13,) exhibits MEALD, and this distinction may be used in classing the doubtful coins of these two places of mintage.

The singular coin just noticed bears religious devices, perhaps alluding to circumstances or events of the time, and was probably struck at Malmesbury, on occasion of the celebrated conference of the Clergy which assembled there in 977, for the purpose of discussing the question of the Celibacy of the Clergy.

* Lelewel, (Pl. XI.) places this mint at Ashow near Warwick; the name does not I believe occur on the coins of any other king.

MINTS.

LVNDE.

LVNDENE.

ME.

O.

OEXEN.

OXIN.

**a* RIHB.

RIVME.

ROFEEC.

SCEF.

SEAR.

SERBI.

SVDE.

THEODFO.

THOTF.

WINCTER.

WINT.

Ruding, vol. 1, p. 384, gives *Godwinecas* as the name of a moneyer, and in p. 381, that of a mint, but a coin with *Godwine Cassowi*, leaves no doubt but the letters *cas* denoted the mint.

MONEYSERS.

a AEGELFERTH.*a* AEGELRIC.

AETHLSTAN.

a ALGEL.

ARNVLF.

a ATHELMER.*a* ATSICE.

† BEDRN.

BIRHTMER.

‡ BLACEIAN.

a BOGA.*a* BOND.*a* BRINTNOTH.*a* BRVNLAN.

CODRI.

CRINAN.

a DVREWERD.*a* EADVLF.

EARDWERD.

a EARNGRIM.

EDSIGE.

ELFRED.

ELFWARD.

EODALA.

ETHRIC.

a FARARI.

FRETHI.

GOD.

GODELHOF.

a GRIMCETEL.

GVNLEF.

HILDOPT.

LEOFDAEN.

LEOFI.

LEOFWNE.

a LINNA.*a* LVDEWINE.

LVFFWINE.

a NORTH.

§ OLVLF.

a ORDRIC.*a* OREST.*a* OVTHGRIM.*a* RIDMVND.*a* SELWII.*a* SERAN.

|| SVRITANE.

SVRITINC.

SWET.

a THVRVLF.

WADLOS.

a WINRED.

WINSTA.

WINSTAN.

a WINVS.

WVLBER.

WVLARN.

WVLFFEN.

WVLFFNOT.

WWSIG.

** HAROLD I. 1035.

MINTS.

a BATHAN.

BRICE.

a CENT.*a* CENTW.*a* GIP.*a* HAMTV.

OCXE.

THEF.

a WICE.*a* WINC.

* Perhaps Ribchester in Lancashire.—† Probably for BEORN.—‡ Probably for BLACEMAN.—§ Probably for OSVLF.—|| Ruding has SVRITVNE.—** An Exeter Penny of this king appears in the Catalogue of Mr. Rich's coins sold 1828.

MONEYSERS.

<i>a</i> AEGELWIG.	ELFNOTH.	<i>a</i> WEDEL.
<i>a</i> BRINTMER.	GODWANE.	<i>a</i> WIDDARA.
<i>a</i> BRVNHAN.	* LENDNE.	† WIDIN. (ON WINC)
<i>a</i> CETEL.	<i>a</i> LIFINC.	<i>a</i> WVLWIG.
<i>a</i> COLGRIM.	<i>a</i> OSFERTH.	<i>a</i> WVLWIINE.
<i>a</i> CRARIC.	<i>a</i> OSLAC.	<i>a</i> WVLWINE.
<i>a</i> EDRIC.	<i>a</i> SEPNE.	

HARTHACNVT, 1040.

MINTS.

<i>a</i> BATHA.	LVDI.	<i>a</i> SERE.
<i>a</i> ECXCEST.	† LVND.	<i>a</i> STENICE.
LINCO.	LVNDI.	<i>a</i> SVTHGER.
† LV.	NORR.	<i>a</i> WINCEST.
LVD.	NORWI.	<i>a</i> WVS.
† LVI.		

MONEYSERS.

AELVII.	<i>a</i> LEFWINE.	<i>a</i> SEWINE.
† <i>a</i> ALFWARD.	ODDENCAR.	<i>a</i> SVMERLED.
† ALFWINE.	OTHWENC.	† <i>a</i> THORCETL.
<i>a</i> CIADWINE.	OVTNCR.	† <i>a</i> TOOCI.
<i>a</i> DODDA.	<i>a</i> OSMVND.	<i>a</i> WEDERC.
<i>a</i> FRITHI.	<i>a</i> OSWORD.	WVLFWINE.
<i>a</i> GODWINE.	<i>a</i> RONIND.	

The coins of Harthacnut were until the last few years extremely rare ; a considerable number of them however occurred in the Dunbrody hoard, and the extravagant prices given in England for them has brought several from Denmark and other parts of the North of Europe ; a great portion of these however were struck in Denmark, but they are not easily distinguished from his English coins, particularly (as Mr. Hawkins has justly observed,) from the difficulty of separating the coins struck in London from those struck at Lunden in Denmark ; it may however be observed that those in the original edition of Ruding appear to be all English, whilst several of those in

* Ruding has LEFWNE. probably the same moneyer.—† Probably the surname of GODWINE. see Pl. 5; No. 130 of this work.—‡ These names of mints and moneyers occur on coins which appear to be Danish.

the additional plates of the last edition appear to be Danish ; that the greater part of those with Sceptre, and of those with the types of Harold I. are English, whilst those without the head are without exception Danish ; several of his coins however bear the names of mints unquestionably English, and others bear the name of Denmark, and these not only speak for themselves but from a comparison of their types and moneys, afford very important means of classing the more uncertain ones.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042.

MINTS.

BATHE .	EGEL .	NORVC .
* <i>a</i> BEORC .	EOEFI .	OXF .
BR .	EXEC .	O .
BRVCC .	GRANTE .	THE .
† <i>a</i> CELAN .	HERER .	WAERINC
† CERE .	† LIDI .	WELI
CREC .	LVE .	† <i>a</i> WERHA .
ECXEC .		

MONEYS.

AEGEWINE .	<i>a</i> DIREME .	EGELRIC .
AELLES .	<i>a</i> DOLDINE .	<i>a</i> ELCDAL .
AELFWOND .	DVDINE .	ELFNOTH .
AELMER .	<i>a</i> DVRREB .	ELFRC .
AETELWINE	EADWERD .	ELFW .
<i>a</i> AETHESTAN .	EADWINE .	ELWINE .
AGLSI .	ECELWI .	ESTAN .
ALFWOLD .	<i>a</i> EDGAR .	ESTMVN .
ALWOLD .	EDLWINE .	ETANNE .
<i>a</i> ARFRE .	EDRCC .	<i>a</i> ETHELSTAN .
<i>a</i> BRIXSIE ,	EDRIC .	ETSTAN .

* Probably Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, which appears to have been a place of great note about the period of the conquest, the English Nobility having met here in council to throw off the Norman yoke, and to which the Conqueror came in person. Moll, p. 114.

† On coins in Mr. Cuff's cabinet, the first I can make nothing of, the second is perhaps blundered for SERE., the third is perhaps Lid in Kent.

‡ Wereham one of the mints which occur in Domesday book, but of which no coins have hitherto been published, this coin and that struck at Berkhamsted, were part of the Dunbrody hoard, and are engraved in Plates 5 and 6 of this work.

MONEYPERS.

^a GILDEWINE.	^a LCOENOCI.	LIGING
GODRC.	LEFRIC.	LVFINC.
† ^a GODWINE. WIDIN.	LEOFRINC.	MANA.
GRIMVLF.	LEOFSTAN.	^a SIDEMAN.
^a GVLDEWINE.	LEGOFRENE.	^a SIEDMAN.
^a HDAFEMAN.	LEOFRI.	^a STANNER.
^a ICEOWI.	* ^a LEOFWINE. HOPN.	VFINC.
IFINC	LIFIINC.	VLCNTEL.
^a LADMAER.	LIFNC.	

Whether any of the Confessor's coins should be considered as Halfpence has been a question often discussed; the circumstance of there being coins of this prince of almost every weight, from ten to twenty-eight grains, and the difficulty of drawing a line of distinction between them, has induced many to suppose they must have been all of one denomination; Mr. Hawkins is of this opinion and supposes them all Pennies, as he says they weigh from fifteen to twenty-eight grains, and the lightest is more than half the weight of the heaviest; I have however one in my own cabinet in the best preservation which weigh only ten grains, and the type although similar to that on larger ones is on a very minute scale; it bears on the obverse EPARD. REX., and on reverse PVLFRICON LVND., it is engraved in Pl. 5, No. 136 of this work, and has more the appearance of being a Halfpenny than any of the Confessor's coins I have yet seen; there is no doubt indeed but large payments were at that time made by weight, but it would be difficult to suppose that in minor transactions, a minute coin of ten grains would pass for the same value as one of twenty-eight.

HAROLD II. 1066.

MINTS.

^a CRI.	LAE	LVDI.
HAE.	^a LEVECEGT.?	OXENEFO.

MONEYPERS.

ANDEBRODE.	^a ELCFRED.	LEOFING.
^a DVNNINC.	^a EOLSWEGN.	WVLFWARD.

* These names appear to have Surnames attached to them, to distinguish them from other moneyers of the same name; GODWINE. CEOCA. is given by Ruding as the names of two moneyers, but the name WIDIN proves I think that that and CEOCA were both Surnames; there were probably two moneyers also named LEOFWINE.

Several of the mints in Ruding's lists being left unappropriated or uncertain, and a few others appearing to be misappropriated, a few observations tending to supply the deficiency, may be here necessary.

The following are the mints in Ruding which are most difficult of appropriation, those in my own lists of unpublished mints I have already noticed :—

ALE. *Aethelred II.*—This mint is supposed by Mr. Sainthill to be Ailesford in Kent.*

ATE. *Aethelred II.*—Attleburgh in Norfolk, anciently the capital of that County, and the residence of some of the East-Anglian kings.

BARD. *Cnut.*—Bardney in Lincolnshire, where there was a celebrated Abbey in which king Oswald was buried.

BERDEST. *Confessor.*—Uncertain, Mr. Sainthill supposes it Berdeltune in Cheshire.

CAD. *Cnut.*—Ruding conjectures this mint to be Cadbury in Somersetshire, and perhaps he may be right, but it may possibly be a blundered reading of CAEW for Canterbury.

CEP. *Cnut.*—Ruding supposes this place to be Chepstow, but it is also possible this legend may be intended for CAEW.

CASTR. *Edward the Martyr.*—This mint is very uncertain, there being a number of places to which it would apply ; Ruding supposes it to be either Castor in Northampton, or Chester.

CNET. } *Cnut.* } Cuneet in Shropshire now Cownd, Mr. Haigh sup-
LNET. } poses this mint to be the same which under the name
CNI... } *Confessor.* } of *Cunnetti*, occurs on so many of the coins found at
Cuerdale.

CR.... } *Cnut.*—This is an uncertain mint, Ruding conjectures it be
CROG... } Crewkerne, and Mr. Sainthill, Crogan in Yorkshire.
CROGI. }

DORTH. } *Confessor.*—Ruding gives these mints to Dorchester and I
DODTH. } think with propriety, although the spelling is unusual.

DOWER. *Confessor.*—Uncertain, there is a place called *Doward* in Herefordshire.

DREB. *Confessor.*—Perhaps Drayton, but there were several places of that name.

* Numismatic Journal for July 1837, where the reader will find some able and important remarks on unappropriated Anglo-Saxon and English mints.

GODWINECAS. *Cnut.*—Ruding conjectures this name may be intended for Godmancester, although he also inserts it in the list of moneyers, but I have already shewn that **CAS.** was part of the name of a mint, and **GODWINE** that of a moneyer.

HVMID... } *Harold II.*—Ruding supposes these names intended for
HVNHED. } Huntingdon, but the spelling is very unusual, and occur-
HVNIED... } ring in a different form on so many coins would induce us to suspect some other mint was intended; perhaps the mint may be Hunstanton in Norfolk, a place of note in the Anglo-Saxon times, and where St. Edmund the king is said to have resided for nearly a year.

IED. *Aethelred II.*—Ruding supposes this place to be Jedburgh, and he is probably right, it is possible however it may be Idleton in Nottinghamshire.

IERBIRGE. *Confessor.*—Ruding supposes this mint to be Jerby in Cumberland, and Mr. Sainthill, Jerbirge in Lincolnshire.

IORT. *Aethelred II.*—This name occurs on a coin given in Mr. Duane's plate, and supposed to be Irish, it is probably a blundered legend.

IRRIVTV. *Cnut.*—Mr. Sainthill assigns this mint to Iretune in Derbyshire, and I think with propriety.

ITAA... *Harold I.* } There is no doubt but this mint is Ithancester in
IT. *Confessor.* } Essex, which it appears from Herman Moll, p. 138,
ITV *Harold II.* } was formerly a flourishing city.

LAGC. *Cnut.*—Uncertain, and perhaps blundered; it may be intended for Lanchester in Durham.

LANSTF:... *Aethelred II.* } This mint is certainly Langport, in Somers-
LAN..... *Cnut.* } setshire, Mr. Cuff has a coin of Athelstan with *Burntelm Mo Langport.*

LEA. *Aethelred II.*—Uncertain, possibly a blundered legend for **LAE.** Lewes, or **GLEA.** Gloucester.

LIMEN... } *Edw. Martyr.* }
LIMENE. }
LIME..... *Eadgar.* } Mr. Sainthill* has clearly proved this mint
LIMNA... *Aethelred II.* } to have been *Lympne*, near Hythe, Kent.
LIMNI.... *Confessor.* }

* Numismatic Journal, July 1837.

LVDA... } *Edw. Martyr.*
 LYDA... }
 LVDA... } *Aethelred II.*
 LVDAN... }
 LYDA. C. } *Cnut*
 LHVDA... }

There can be no doubt but these names belong to Lydford in Devon; but the legends LVD and LVDE. on coins of Eadgar, Aethelred II., Cnut, Harold I., and Confessor, are more probably blundered legends for LVND. and LVNDE.

METWI. } *Eadgar.*—Mr. Sainthill supposes this mint to be either
 MVLTVI. } *Milton* near Sittingbourne, Kent, in early times supposed to
 be the residence of the Kings of Kent, or Maidstone, which was supposed to
 have been a contraction of Medwaystown; the latter I think seems most
 probable.

OMSTENI. *Harold II.*—Mr. Sainthill gives this mint to Ormstune, (Domesday,) in Nottingham.

RELHM... } *Confessor.*
 RIC. } *Cnut.*

I can offer no conjecture as to these mints.

RINI. *Aethelred II.*—This name occurs on several coins struck in Ireland, and is probably that of an Irish mint.

RISIC. *Aethelred II.*—Mr. Sainthill supposes this mint to be Risingham in Northumberland, and I think he is right.

RIV. *Cnut.*—Mr. Sainthill assigns this mint to Rivelenoit in Cheshire, but I think it is very doubtful; the legend is possibly a blundered one.

SITHE. *Cnut.*—An uncertain mint, possibly Sidnacester in Lincolnshire.

STANOR. *Aethelred II.*—Probably blundered for *Stanfor*.

STANV. Do. Ruding conjectures this place may be Stanwick, but I should rather assign it to *Stana*, now Staines in Middlesex, which appears in the Anglo-Saxon times to have been a place of note.

STNE. *Confessor.*—This mint is very uncertain; the legend may be intended for Stanford or Staines.

THRIV. *Cnut.*—I can offer no conjecture as to this mint.

TINC. *Confessor.*—This mint is very doubtful and perhaps blundered; Ruding conjectures it may be Teignmouth.

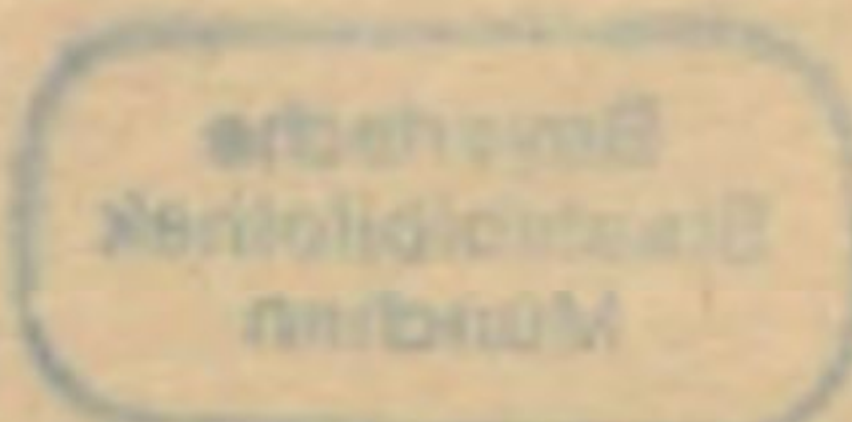
TVRC. *Aethelred II.*—Ruding assigns this mint to Torksey in Lincolnshire, and it is probable he is right.

Q

WIODFOD. } *Confessor*.—These legends are perhaps blundered, but
WIODWOD } I can offer no conjecture respecting them.

WENCLES. *Edgar*.—Ruding conjectures this place may be Winchelsea, and the appropriation seems probable.

In concluding this notice of uncertain mints, I cannot avoid observing that a full list of mints and moneyers in *conjunction* would enable us to appropriate many of those uncertain mints, particularly those which from the blunders of the moneyer present any unusual reading; the task however (which I had at one time in part attempted,) would be an extremely difficult one, and hardly to be accomplished by a single individual.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

A.D.	KENT.	SOUTH-SAXONS.	WESSEX.	EAST-SAXONS.	EAST-ANGLES.	MERCIA.	NORTHUMBERLAND. BERNICA. DEIRA.
590		King of Wessex.	.....	.....	.....	.....	Athelfrid.
592			Ceolric.	.....	.....	.....	.....
594						King of Kent.	.....
596						Wibba.	.....
598			Ceolwulf.	.....	.....	.....	.....
599				Sebert.	REDWALD.	.....	.....
611			Cinigisil.	.....	.....	.....	.....
613			Do. & Quichelm.	.....	.....	.....	.....
615						Interregnum.	.....
616	Edbald.	.....	.....	Sexred-Seward and Sigebert I.	.....	Ceolr.	.....
617							EDWIN.
623				Sigebert II.	.....	.....	.....
624					Erpenwald.	.....	.....
625						Penda.	.....
633					Interregnum.	.....	Anfrid. | Osric.
634							OSWALD.
636			Cinigisil alone.	.....	Sigebert.	.....	.....
640	Ercombert.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
643			Cenowalch.	.....	.....	.....	OSWY.
644					Egric. Annas.	.....	..... Oswin.
645			King of Mercia.	Sigebert III.	.....	.....	.....
648		Adelwalch.	Cenowalch res- tored.	.....	.....	.....	.....
652							Adelwald.
654					Ethelhere.	.....	.....

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

A.D.	KENT.	SOUTH-SAXONS.	WESSEX.	EAST-SAXONS.	EAST-ANGLES.	MERCIA.	NORTHUMBRIA. BERNICA. DEIRA.
655	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ethelwald.	Peada under the K. of Northumbd.	
659	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	WOLFHERE.	
660	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Oswy.
661	.....	King of Mercia.	.....	Swithelm.	.....	.....	
662	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Oswy. | Aldfrith.
664	Egbert.	.....	.....	Sighere & Sebba.	Aldulf.	.....	
670	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Egfrid.
672	.....	.....	Sexburga.	.....	.....	.....	
673	Lothaire.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
674	.....	.....	Censua, Escwin, and Centwin.	.....	.....	ETHELRED.	
675	.....	Adelwalch.	.....	.....	.....	.....	
676	.....	.....	Centwin.	.....	Alfwald.	.....	
683	.....	.....	.....	Sebba.	.....	.....	
685	Edric.	.....	Ceadwalla.	.....	.....	.....	Aldfrith.
686	Withred & Swa- bert.	Authun & Ber- thun.	.....	.....	.....	.....	
688	.....	King of Wessex.	Ina.	.....	.....	.....	
690	.....	.....	.....	.....	Beorna.	.....	
694	.....	.....	.....	Sighard and Sen- fred.	.....	.....	
695	Withred.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
701	.....	.....	.....	Offa.	.....	.....	
704	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	CENRED.	
705	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Osred.
709	.....	.....	.....	Seolred.	.....	CEOLRED.	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

A.D.	KENT.	SOUTH-SAXONS.	WESSEX.	EAST-SAXONS.	EAST-ANGLES.	MERCIA.	NORTHUMBERLAND.
714					Ethelred.	ETHELBALD.	Cenred.
716							Osric.
718							
725	Ethelbert and Edbert.	Albert.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
726		King of Wessex.	Ethelard.	.....	.....	.....	Ceolwulf.
730							Edbert.
737							
740			Cuthred.	.....	.....	.....	.....
746				Swithred.	.....	.....	.....
749	Ethelbert.	.....	.....	.....	Beorna & Ethelbert.	.....	.....
754		Osmond.	Sigebert. Cenwulf.	.....	.....	Beornred. OFFA.	.....
755							Oswulf.
757							Ethelwald.
758					Beorna.	.....	.....
759							
760	Alric,	King of Wessex.	.....	.....	Ethelred.	.....	Alcred.
761							Ethelred I.
765							Alfwald I.
774							
779							
780				Sigeric.	.....	.....	.....
784			Brithric.	.....	.....	.....	.....
789							Osred.
790					Ethelbert.	.....	Ethelred I. restored.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

A.D.	KENT.	SOUTH-SAXONS.	WESSEX.	EAST-SAXONS.	EAST-ANGLES.	MERCIA.	NORTHUMBERLAND.
792	.....	.....	.....	.....	King of Mercia.	.....	.....
794	Edbert II.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
796	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	EGFRID. COENWULF.	Osbold. Eardulf.
798	Cuthred.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
800	.....	.....	EGBERT.	Sigered.	.....	.....	.....
805	Baldred.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
808	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Alfwald II.
810	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Eanred.
819	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Cenelm. Quendred. Ceolwulf I.	.....
820	.....	.....	.....	.....	Eadwald about 820.	Beornwulf.	.....
823	EGBERT.	.....	.....	EGBERT.	.....	.....	.....
824	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ladica.	.....
825	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ethelstan I. about 830.	Wiglaf.	.....
837	ETHELWULF.	ETHELWULF.	ETHELWULF.	ETHELWULF.	.....	Berhtulf.	Ethelred II.
839	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Redulf.
841	Ethelstan.	Ethelstan.	.....	Ethelstan.	.....	.....	Ethelred II. restored
844	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Osberht.
848	.....	.....	.....	.....	Beorhtric, about 850.	.....	.....
853	ETHELWULF.	ETHELWULF.	.....	ETHELWULF.	Ethelweard, about 852.	Burgred.	.....
855	.....	.....	Ethelbald.	.....	Eadmund.	.....	.....
857	Ethelbert.	Ethelbert.	ETHELBALD.	Ethelbert.	.....	.....	.....

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

A.D.	KENT.	SOUTH-SAXONS.	WESSEX.	EAST-SAXONS.	EAST-ANGLES.	MERCIA.	NORTHUMBERLAND. BERNICA. DEIRA
860	ETHELBERT.	ETHELBERT.	ETHELBERT.	ETHELBERT.			
862	.....	.....	.....	.....		.....	Ella. Osberht.
866	ETHELRED I.	ETHELRED I.	ETHELRED I.	ETHELRED I.		.....	Egbert. Ivar.
867	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ivar.	.....	
870	.....	.....	.....	.....	Guthrum.	.....	
872	ALFRED.	ALFRED.	ALFRED.	ALFRED.	.....	.....	Ricsige. Halfden.
874	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ceolwulf II. ALFRED.	
875	.....	.....	.....	.....	Halfden.	.....	
877	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Egbert.
878	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ethelstan (Guthrum.)	.....	
883	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Siefredus.
890	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Guthred.
901	EDWARD. E.	EDWARD. E.	EDWARD. E.	EDWARD. E.	Eorice.	EDWARD. E.	
905	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
915	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Sihtric.
918	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Sihtric.—Regnald.
925	ATHELSTAN.	ATHELSTAN.	ATHELSTAN.	ATHELSTAN.	ATHELSTAN.	ATHELSTAN.	Anlaf son of Sihtric—Godfred—Regnald. ATHELSTAN.
927	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Anlaf son of Godfred.
941	EDMVND.	EDMVND.	EDMVND.	EDMVND.	EDMVND.	EDMVND.	Anlaf son of Sihtric—Regnald. EDMVND.
943	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
944	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

A.D.	KENT.	SOUTH-SAXONS.	WESEX.	EAST-SAXONS.	EAST-ANGLES.	MERCIA.	NORTHUMBERLAND.
946	EDRED.	EDRED.	EDRED.	EDRED.	EDRED.	EDRED.	EDRED.
947	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Eric.
949	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Anlaf Son of Sihtric.
952	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Eric restored.
954	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	EDRED.
955	EDWY.	EDWY.	EDWY.	EDWY.	EDWY.	EDWY.	EDWY.
958	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Edgar.	
959	EDGAR.	EDGAR.	EDGAR.	EDGAR.	EDGAR.	EDGAR.	EDGAR.

The arrangement of the kings of the East-Angles from 690 to 855, and of those of Northumberland from 867 to its final extinction as a separate kingdom, are matters of much difficulty and uncertainty; the former as has been already observed, is at least from 792 to 855, almost entirely founded on the evidence afforded by the coins of the East-Anglian kings, nor should we have probably added the name of Siefredus to the list of the kings of Northumberland, had not the occurrence of his coins in the Cuerdale hoard satisfactorily proved from their place of mintage, (York,) his connection with that kingdom; I may however here observe that Rapin, Vol. I, p. 312, notices not only this king but his connection with Northumberland; for he mentions that the Danes that refused to go with Hastings when he left Eng gland, put themselves under the command of one *Sigefert* settled in Northumberland.

APPENDIX No. 2.

A LIST OF THE NAMES OF MINTS
WHICH OCCUR ON THE

COINS OF THE CHIEF OR SOLE MONARCHS.

NO MINTS ON COINS OF EGBERT, ETHELBERT, ETHELRED I., OR EDWARD THE ELDER HAVE YET OCCURRED.

[illegible]

MINTS.	Ethelwulf.	Alfred.	Athelstan.	Edmund.	Edred.	Edwy.	Edgar.	Edw. Martyr.	Ethelred II.	Cnut.	Harold I.	Harthacnut.	Confessor.	Harold II.
Huntingdon,	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	M	M	..	M	M	M
Hythe,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	M	..
Jerbirge,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
Ilchester,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	..	M
Intberge,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ipswich,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	..	M	M
Ithancester,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	M	M
Langport,	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	..	..
Leicester,	..	..	M	M	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	..	M	M
Lewes,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	M	..	..	M	M
Lincoln,	..	M	..	..	M	..	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
London,	..	M	M	M	..	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Lydford,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	..	..	..	..
Lympne,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	..	..	..	M	..
Maldon,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	M	M
Malmsbury,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	M	M	..	..	..	..
Newent,	..	..	M	..	..	M	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..
Norwich,	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Nottingham,	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	M	M
Oxford,	..	M	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	..	M	M
Rochester,	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	M	..
Romney,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	M	M
St. Edmundsbury, ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	..	M	..
Salisbury,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	..
Sandwich,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
Shaftsbury,	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	M	M
Shrewsbury,	..	..	M	..	..	..	M	..	M	M	..	..	M	M
Southampton,	..	..	M	M	..	M	M	M	M	M	M	..	M	M
Stafford,	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	..	..
Stamford,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	..	M	M
Sudbury,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
Tamworth,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	M	..
Taunton,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	M	M
Teignmouth,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thetford,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	..	M	M
Totness,	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
Wallingford,	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	M	M	M	..	M	M
Wareham,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	M	..

MINTS.	Ethelwulf.	Alfred.	Athelstan.	Edmund.	Edred.	Edwy.	Edgar.	Edw. Martyr.	Ethelred II.	Cnut.	Harold I.	Harthacnut.	Confessor.	Harold II.
Warwick,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	M
Watchet,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	..	..
Wilton,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	M	..	..	..	M	M
Winchester,.....	..	M	M	..	..	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Witney,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M
Worcester,.....	..	..	M	..	..	M	..	..	M	M	..	..	M	M
York,.....	..	..	M	M	..	M	M	M	M	M	M	..	M	M
UNCERTAIN MINTS.														
AEMI,.....	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ALE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
ATE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
BERDEST,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
BRIN,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
CAD,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	M	..	..	..	..
CASTR,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..
CELAN,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
CEP,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
CIMAE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
CROGI,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
CRVCE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
DOWER,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
DREB,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
HVMID,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
HVNED,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M
HVNIED,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IED,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
IORT,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
IRRIVTV,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
LAG,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
METWI,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
MVLTWI,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OMSTENI,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M
RAID,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
REHLM,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
RIC,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
RIHB,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
RISIC,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..

MINTS.	Ethelwulf.	Alfred.	Athelstan.	Edmund.	Edred.	Edwy.	Edgar.	Edw. Martyr.	Ethelred II.	Cnut.	Harold I.	Harthacnut.	Confessor.	Harold II.
RIV,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
SERE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..
SITHE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
STANV,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
STENICE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..
STNE,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
SVTHGER,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..
TINC,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
TVRC,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..
WENCLES,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WIODFOD, ... }	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..
WIODWOD, ... }	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WVS,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M	..	..
TOTAL.... 109.	1	6	22	6	4	11	28	25	58	63	24	15	60	39

APPENDIX No. 3.

A LIST OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS,

WITH AN ESTIMATE OF THEIR RARITY, AND REFERENCES TO THE CABINETS IN WHICH SEVERAL OF THE
VERY RARE ONES ARE CONTAINED.

1 signifies the lowest degree of Rarity—8 the highest—U, Unique—R, Rarity—M, British Museum—H, Doctor
Hunter's Museum.

ANGLO-SAXON COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
NORTHUMBERLAND.—Egfrid, Stycas,	8	2 M.	Hawkins, No. 99.
Aldfrith, Skeatta,	U	Mr. Cuff.	Do.... No. 100.
——— Styca,	U	Mr. Loscombe.	Do.... No. 101.
Eadberht, Skeattas,	5		
Edilwald, Skeattas,	8	M.	Only two Skeattas known.
——— Styca,	U	Mr. Clarkson.	
Alchred, Skeattas,	8	M.	Hawkins, No. 105.
Ethelred I. Skeatta,	U		
Alfwald I. Skeattas,	8	Mr. Cuff, Mr. Brummell.	Only two known.
Eardulf, Stycas,	4		
Alfwald II. Stycas,	8	Author.	Pl. 1, No. 31.
Eanred. Penny,	U	Mr. Rashleigh.	
——— Skeatta,	U	Dr. Moore.	
——— Styca,	1		
Ethelred II. Skeatta,	U	Mr. Brummell.	Hawkins, No. 123.
——— Styca,	1		
Redulf, Stycas,	3		
Osberht, Stycas,	4		
Siefredus, Penny,	4	.. .. .	Pl. 3, Nos. 65, 73.
——— Halfpenny,	8	.. .. .	Plate 3, No. 74.
Sihtric, Penny,	8	E. Pembroke.	Pembroke, Pl. 1, No. 6.
Regnald, Penny, plain type,	U	H.	
——— Triquetra,	U	Dean of St. Patrick's.	Hawkins, No. 126.
Anlaf, plain type,	6	4 M. Mr. Cuff, Colonel. Stretton.	
——— with ornament,	8	H. Col. Stretton, E. Pem- broke.	
——— with raven,	7	H. M. Mr. Cuff, E. Pem- broke, Mr. Sainthill.	
——— with triquetra,	7	2 M. E. Pembroke, Au- thor.	
Eric, plain type,	8	H. Mr. Cuff, Author.	
——— with sword,	7	H. 2 M.	

ANGLO-SAXON COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
MERCIA, Ethelred, Skeattas,	8	H. M.	
Offa, with head,	5		
— with serpents,	8	H. M.	Ruding, Nos. 16, 17,
— moneyers name on obverse,	8	H. E. Pembroke.	
— king's name on both sides,	8	M.	
— without head,	4		
Cenethreth, with head,	8	H. M. E. Pembroke.	
— without head,	8	H.	
Coenwulf, with head,	4		
— do. reverse A in the field	U	H.	
— without head,	7	H. 7 M.	
Ceolwulf I. with head,	7	3 H. 3 Mr. Cuff, Mr. Rashleigh.	
— with two long crosses,	U	M.	
— with DOROVERNIA,	U	Mr. Cuff.	
— reverse, A in the field,	8	M.	
— without head,	U	.. .. .	Sir A. Fountaine, Pl. 4, No. 3.
Beornwulf, reverse, cross,	8	H. M. Mr. Cuff.	
— reverse, moneyers name in the field.	U	M.	
Ludica, do.	U	H.	
— reverse, cross,	8	Mr. Cuff, Mr. Wigan.	Only two known.
Wiglaf, with head,	U	Mr. Cuff.	
— without head,	8	M. E. Pembroke.	Only two known.
Berhtulf, with head,	4		
— reverse, A,	7	2 M. 2 Mr. Rashleigh.	
— without head,	8	Mr. Cuff, Rev. Mr. Dymock.	Only two known.
Burgred,	2		
Ceolwulf II. Ruding, Pl. 7, No. 2,	U	H.	The only coin which can with certainty be given to this king, p. 42.
EAST-ANGLES, Beorna, Skeattas,	8	2 H. Rev. Mr. Dymock.	
Eadvald, Pennies,	8	H. M.	
Ethelstan I. with head,	8	M. 2 Mr. Cuff.	Only three known.
— without head,	5		
— reverse, REX. ANG.	8	M.	
Beorhtric,	U	H.	
Ethelweard,	5		
Eadmund,	3		
Ethelstan II.	7	.. .. .	Type of Alfred.
Eohric,	U	.. .. .	Pl. 6, No. 139.
KENT, Ethelbert II. reverse, wolf & twins	U	M.	

ANGLO-SAXON COINS.		R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
KENT,	Eadberht II.	8	M. H. Bodleian Library.	
	Cuthred, with head,	6	5 M. Mr. Cuff, E. Pem- broke, Mr. Thomas.	
	— without head,	7	M. Mr. Cuff.	
	Baldred, with head,	8	M.	
	— without head,	7	3 M.	
	Ethelwulf, DORIBI, reverse CANT	4		
	— reverse, A,	8	M.	
	— CANT on obverse,	7	2 M.	
WESSEX,	Egbert, Ruding, Pl. 5,	8	2 H. Mr. Cuff.	By most writers assigned to the son of Offa.
	— with SAXO or SAXON,	6	2 M. 2 H.	
	Ethelwulf, with SAXONIORVM.	4		
	— with SAXONIORVM, OCCIDENTALIVM,	7	2 M.	
ECCLESIASTICAL, St. Edmund, Penny,		1	.. . . .	A great number found at Cuerdale.
	— Halfpenny,	7	Most of them in the Bri- tish Museum, 2 Rev. Mr. Martin.	
	St. Peter, plain type,	3		
	— with sword,	4		
	— with monogram,	8	.. . . .	Ruding, Pl. 30, No. 3.
	St. Martin,	8	M. E. Pembroke, Mr. Cuff.	Only three known.
	St. Andrew,	U	M.	Reverse of Egbert, Haw- kins, No. 158.
ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK, Egbert, Skeattas,		7	H. M.	Reverse of Edbert, those reverse of Edilwald are already given.
	Eanbald II. Stycas,	4	41 in British Museum.	Formerly very rare.
	Vigmund, Stycas,	2		
	Vulphere, Stycas,	6	2 M. Mr. Rebello, Author	
ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, Jaenberht,		U	H.	
	Aethilheard, PONTI, rev. Offa,	U	H.	
	— AR. reverse, Offa,	U	M.	
	— reverse, Coenwulf with tribrach,	8	H. M. D. Devonshire.	
	— do. with M.	U	Do.	
	Wulfred with name and title,	6	3 M. H. E. Pembroke, Mr. Loscombe, D. Devon- shire, D. St. Patrick's.	
	— without title,	U	Mr. Sainthill.	
	— without his name,	7	H. M.	

ANGLO-SAXON COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY,—Ceolnoth, full face, reverse, type of Ethelbert,	3		
— do. rev. type of Burgred	U	M.	
— do. rev. Christian monogram,	4		
— do. other types,	5		
— side face,	8	M. Mr. Barker, Mr. Sainthill.	Only three known.
Ethered,	U	M.	
Plegmund, plain type,	4		
— with pastoral staff,	8		The coins of Plegmund were extremely rare until the discovery at Cuerdale.
— with DORO, in the field,	8		Perhaps unique.
UNCERTAIN COINS PROBABLY ECCLESIASTICAL,			
Regnald, or Regenalt, page 19, ..	7	M. 3 Mr. Willet .	
Type of St. Peter's Pennies, Pl. 2, No. 55,	U	D. St. Patrick's.	
EBRAICE CIV, rev. ACR TEN,	2		
Do. reverse, MIRABILIA, FEC,	4		
MIRABILIA reverse, ACR TEN,	2		All these coins were found at Cuerdale.
CVNNETTI, reverse, do. ..	1		
Do. Halfpenny,	6		
Do. Do. Monogram of Carlus,	4		
EVERAT, ME FECIT,	8	.. .. .	Probably struck by Alfred or Siefredus and perhaps unique,
DNS DS O REX,	5		
CHIEF OR SOLE MONARCHS,.. EGBERT, reverse, Monogram,	5		
— other types,	6	4 M. Mr. Loscombe, H. Mr. Rashleigh, Mr. Saint-hill.	
— without head,	7	2 M. Mr. Rashleigh.	Those with SAXO, or SAXON have been already given.
With head, but without his name.	7	M. H.	
ETHELWULF,.. With head, Ruding, Pl. 14, No. 2,	3		
— reverse, A,	7	M. H. E. Pembroke.	
— other types,	4		
— without head, rev. A,	7	3 M.	Those of Kent and Wessex already given.
— Do. other types,	5	.. .. .	
ETHELBERT,.. Common type,	3		

ANGLO-SAXON COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
ETHELBERT,.. Ruding, No. 3,	7	3 M.	
ETMELRED I,.. Reverse, legend in three lines, ..	4		
———— Do. in four lines, ..	7	Bodleian Library.	
ALFRED,.... Base Silver, with head,	6	10 M. H. Mr. Sheppard.	
Fine Silver, do. with Londonia in monogram,	7	3 M. H. Rev. Mr. Martin,	
With unknown monogram,	U	Dr. Smith.	Pl. 4, No. 93.
With Lincolia in monogram, and without the king's name, ..	8	M.	
———— with long cross, type of Ceolwulf II.	8	Mr. Cuff.	Two known.
———— Halfpenny,	U	Mr. Thomas.	Hawkins, No. 176.
Without head or mint,	2	.....	A great number found at Cuerdale.
———— struck at Oxford,	4		
———— do. with long cross,	8	Rev. Mr. Martin.	Pl. 4, No. 96.
———— struck at London,	U		
———— Exeter,	8	.. .. .	Only two known.
———— Winchester,	8	M. Mr. Cuff.	Only two known.
———— Halfpence,	8	Rev. Mr. Martin.	
Large piece, Hawkins, No. 178,	U	Mr. Garland.	
EDWARD THE ELDER,.. Head to right,	5		
Head to left,	8	M. Mr. Cuff, Mr. Sainthill.	
Without head, plain type,	2		
Do. with pellets instead of crosses,	U	Author.	
Do. moneyers name in one line,	8	M. H.	
Do. with bird,	U	H.	
Do. with hand,	7	3 M.	
Do. with building,	6	3 M. H. 2 E. Pembroke, 2 Mr. Bootle, Mr. Rebello, Dr. Smith.	
Do. with ornaments,	6	6 M. 4 H. Mr. Rebello, Mr. Cuff, Mr. Sainthill.	
Do. on both sides,	8	2 M.	
Halfpence,	8	M. Bodleian Library.	Only two known.
ATHELSTAN,.. Rude head to right,	8	M. H. Bodleian Library.	
Head to left, reverse, cross crosslet	7	3 M. H.	
Rude head to left without crown,	8	3 M.	
Head crowned to left, rev. small cross, London,	4		

ANGLO SAXON-COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
ATHELSTAN, ... Head crowned to left, rev. small cross, Norwich,	7	M. E. Pembroke.	Perhaps No. 8, Ruding, also belongs to Norwich.
————— Rochester, ..	U	Author.	
————— Winchester, ..	8	M.	
Without mint,	7	M.	
————— do. with MOE FCT ..	U	Mr. Sainthill.	
Without head, with building, ..	6	3 M. H. Mr. Cuff, Mr. Bootle, Mr. Barker.	
————— with ornament,	8	M.	
————— with Tot Brit and mint, ..	2		
————— with <i>Saxorum</i> ,	8	H.	
————— without mint,	2		
EDMUND, With head and without mint, rev. cross crosslet,	8	M. H.	
————— reverse, small cross, ..	7	3 M. H. E. Pembroke.	
————— struck at Norwich, ..	8	Mr. Peter.	
————— Exeter, ..	8	M. 2 Mr. Sainthill, Rev. Mr. Dymock.	
Without head or mint,	2		
————— do. with ornaments, ..	7	M. Mr. Cuff.	
————— with mint,	6	2 M.	
————— with VRB, struck at Darent and Southampton, ..	8	2 Mr. Cuff.	Only two known.
EDRED, With head, without mint,	5		
————— struck at Exeter,	U	Mr. Sainthill.	
————— Lincoln,	U	Mr. Peter.	
————— Norwich,	8	Mr. Cuff.	
————— ON AEMI,	U	M.	
Without head, rev. inner circle, ..	8	M	
————— moneyers name in 2 lines, ..	2		
EDWY, With head,	U	H.	
Without head, with ornament, ..	U	M.	
————— with inner circle, ..	U	Dr. Smith.	
————— moneyers name in one line, ..	6	D. Devonshire.	
————— do. in two lines, ..	4		
————— do. with mint, ..	6	4 M. H.	
EDGAR, With rude head, without crown to left,	U	Mr. Peter.	Pl. 5, No. 116.
With large rude head crowned to left,	8	M.	Ruding, Pl. 20, No. 1.
With head crowned and filleted to left,	6	2 M. Mr. Rashleigh.	Do. No. 3, &c.

ANGLO SAXON-COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
EDGAR,..... With head crowned and filleted to left, with mint,	5	2 H. M. E. Pembroke.	Ruding, No. 2, &c.
With head filleted to right, all with mints,	3	.. .. .	Ruding, Nos. 6, 8.
Without head, reverse, moneyer's name in the field,	1		
— do. with mint,	3		
— do. rosette on obverse, ..	U	Mr. Barker.	Ruding, Pl. 30, No. 23.
— reverse inner circle, ..	3		
— do. with mint,	2		
— do. rosette on obverse, ..	5		Ruding, Pl. 21, Nos. 21, 22
— Halfpenny,	U	Mr. C. R. Smith.	Num. Chron. Jan. 1842.
EDWARD THE MARTYR,.. Reverse, small cross, ..	3		
* Reverse, hand between Alpha and Omega,	U	Mr. Cuff.	Those struck at Lincoln, Stamford and York are the most common.
ETHELRED II... Head helmeted,	4		Ruding, Pl. 22, No. 1.
Irish type,	1		Ruding, Nos. 2, 3.
Do. reverse, crescents,	U		Sir A. Fountaine, Pl. 1, No. 6.
With CRVX. head to right with sceptre,	1		
Do. without sceptre,	U		Hawkins, No. 224.
Do. head to left with sceptre, ..	U	Author.	Pl. 5, No. 125.
Helmeted head to right, reverse, small cross and pellets,	U		Lelewel, Pl. 12, No. 17.
Filleted head to right, reverse, small cross,	3		
Do. to left, do.	U	H.	Ruding, Pl. 22, No. 8.
Do. to left, reverse, hand between Alpha and Omega,	2		
Do. with sceptre, do.	3		Ruding, Pl. 22, No. 13.
Do. Alpha and Omega omitted, ..	8	H. 2 Mr. Cuff.	Ruding, No. 15.
Head to right, reverse, hand between Alpha and Omega, ..	8	2 Mr. Cuff.	Ruding, Pl. D, Nos. 35, 36
Without head, Lamb and Cross reverse, Dove,	U	Mr. Sainthill.	Pl. 6, No. 155.
Do. with building,	U		Pl. 6, 156, from the Blatter fur Munzkunde.
CNUT,..... Head with helmet and sceptre, ..	1		Ruding, Pl. 22, Nos. 1, 4
— do. with halberd,	8	M. Rev. Mr. Martin.	Ruding, No. 5.
— do. without sceptre, reverse, long double cross,	8	H.	Ruding, No. 6.
— do. cross of four ovals, ..	8	M. Bodleian Library.	Ruding, No. 27.

* It may at first sight be doubted whether this singular coin may not have been struck by a moneyer of the Confessor, in imitation of the coins of Ethelred II. of similar type, but the moneyer *Cunem* who was probably the same who worked for Ethelred, renders it nearly certain that this coin belongs to Edward the Martyr.

ANGLO-SAXON COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
CNUT, Head with PACX,	U	M.	Ruding, No. 25.
— with crown fleury,	1	.. ..	Ruding, Nos. 7, 13.
— do. with sceptre,	8	M.	Ruding, No. 14.
— do. without quatrefoil on reverse.	U	Mr. Thomson.	Hawkins, page 70.
— to left with crown fleury, ..	8	M.	Ruding, Pl. 23, No. 15.
— with mitre to right,	1	.. ..	Mostly of the York mint.
— do. to left,	8	M	Ruding, Pl. 23, No. 16.
— do. to right, reverse, an oval compartment intersected by an oblong one,	U	.. ..	Lelewel, Pl. 12, No. 26.
— filleted, reverse, small cross, ..	8	H.	Ruding, Pl. 23, No. 21.
Without head,	U	Rev. Mr. Dymock.	Ruding, No. 26.
HAROLD I., .. Head helmeted without sceptre, ..	5	.. ..	Ruding, Pl. 24, Nos. 1, 3.
— do. to right with sceptre, ..	4	.. ..	Ruding, No. 4.
— do. to left with sceptre, ..	8	Rev. Mr. Martin.	Ruding, Pl. 28.
— * do. to right, reverse, double cross in an inner circle, ..	U	M.	Hawkins, No. 215.
† HARTHACNUT,—Head to left, reverse, cross of four ovals, struck at Bath, Salisbury, Stenice and Winchester, ..	7	2 M. E. Pembroke.	Ruding, No. 1.
Head to right with sceptre, struck at Bristol, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Huntingdon, Lincoln, London, Norwich and Warwick, ..	6	6 M. H. Mr. Staunton.	Ruding, Nos. 2, 3.—p. 92. Mr. Cuff has twelve coins of this king but some of them are Danish.
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR,—Head helmeted with sceptre to right,	1	.. ..	Ruding, Pl. 24, 25, Nos. 1, 6, 21, 24.
Do. reverse, double cross PAXS in the angles,	8	H.	Ruding, Pl. 24, No. 12, perhaps unique.
Do. cross terminating in crescents,	5	.. ..	Hawkins, No. 221.
Crowned head with sceptre to left, reverse, double cross,	2	.. ..	Ruding, Pl. 24. Nos. 9, 10.
Do. reverse, small cross,	U	M.	Ruding, Pl. 28.
Head helmeted to left with sceptre, ..	8	M.	Hawkins 223, perhaps unique.
Sovereign type,	3	.. ..	.. ..
Do. without martlets,	8	M.	Ruding, Pl. 28, No. 3.
Head with mitre and sceptre to left, reverse, martlets,	U	H.	.. ..
Do. without martlets,	1	.. ..	York, the commonest mint.

* This appears to be an uncertain coin, it reads HAREII, and may belong either to Harold I. or Harthacnut, but the moneyers name *Outhencar*, would render it more likely to belong to the latter.

† These two types are the only ones which are certainly English, those with the head and other reverses are nearly perhaps all Danish, as are those without the head probably without any exception.

ANGLO-SAXON COINS.	R.	CABINETS.	REMARKS.
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—Do. Do. head to right	8	H.	
Crowned head with sceptre to left, reverse, small double cross, &c. in an inner circle,	1	.. .. .	Ruding, Pl. 25, Nos. 26, 27.
Do. without sceptre,	8	Bodleian Library.	Ruding, No. 28.
Do. with sceptre, and PAX on rev.	8	2 M. Mr. Cuff.	
Crowned head full face, with sceptre	8	Mr. Rebello.	Ruding, Pl. 25, No. 25.
Do. without sceptre,	2	.. .. .	Ruding, Nos. 29, 31.
Do. Do. reverse, cross and four crescents,	U	M.	Ruding, No. 32.
Head with radiated crown to right,	2	.. .. .	Ruding, Nos. 33, 34.
Head helmeted with halberd, ..	U	Mr. Abell.	Pl. 5. No. 134.
Helmeted head to right small size,	1	.. .. .	Ruding, Nos. 36, 38.
Do. with sceptre,	U	Author.	Pl. 5, No. 135.
With surnames appended to mo- neyer's names,	8	Author. Mr. Hoare.	Pl. 5, No. 129. Pl. 6, No. 158.
Gold coin,	U	Mr. Spurrier.	Ruding, Pl. H, No. 44.
HAROLD II, .. Head to right with sceptre, reverse, PAX,	2	.. .. .	Ruding, Pl. 26, No. 3.
Do. without sceptre,	3	.. .. .	Ruding, Nos. 1, 2.
Do. to left with sceptre, reverse, PAX, retrograde,	U	M.	Hawkins, No. 232.

There are probably in the English private Cabinets a much greater number of the very rare coins than I have enumerated; for a great portion of those in this list, particularly those in the National Cabinets I am indebted to Ruding, and the later work of Mr. Hawkins.

A few years since a large parcel of Anglo-Saxon coins, together with several silver ingots in form of rings, each of the weight of three ounces, were found in the west of the County Kilkenny; about sixty of the coins, all of Edgar, and with one exception without heads, came into the possession of Colonel Burton, C.B. Athlone.

A few years since near Dalkey, County Dublin, upwards of sixty coins of Edgar were found.

A few years since two Anglo-Saxon coins of Edward the Elder and Athelstan, together with several pieces or ingots of silver, were found in a stone quarry near Mungret, County Limerick.

About 6800 coins, weighing about.....	304	Ounces Troy.
16 Ingots of Silver about $8\frac{1}{4}$ oz. each,	132	Do.
Small bars of Silver,.....	$725\frac{1}{2}$	Do.
Manufactured articles of rude Workmanship, consisting } of rings, armlets, chains, &c.	$103\frac{1}{2}$	Do.
	1265	Do.

A more particular account of this hoard has been drawn up by Edward Hawkins, Esq. and will be published in the Numismatic Chronicle.

1840—December.—In the County Kildare, a small parcel of Anglo-Saxon coins were found; they consisted of one of Edward the Elder with building, (Ruding, Pl. 16, No. 17,) and three others of the common type, (Nos. 29, 30,) one of Athelstan, Pl. 17, No. 16, and another with *To. Br.* reverse, VVLFZAN. MO. LIEC; there were also fragments of four more and a piece of a Cufic coin. They all came into the possession of Dr. Smith.

1841.—June.—About the middle of this month in Marl Valley, (a bog surrounded by very high hills, lying between Collinstown and Turin, County Westmeath,) a young man being employed in clearing a green patch of island in length about fifty perches and fourteen at its greatest breadth, in the course of his work came on a skeleton, on or within which he discovered one hundred and fifty silver coins, two large silver pins with large heads, a ring of gold about an inch in diameter with a small opening,* and two silver balls something about rifle size; the coins were sent by the finder to Dublin and sold for a few shillings, two only of them fell into the hands of Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, of Castle Town Delvin, and proved to be Anglo-Saxon coins of Ethelred II.

Several years since, nine coins of Egbert were found in Ireland; they are all in the cabinet of the late Dean of St. Patrick's.

A few years since a large parcel of Anglo-Saxon coins, together with several silver ingots in form of rings, each of the weight of three ounces, were found in the west of the County Kilkenny; about sixty of the coins, all of Edgar, and with one exception without heads, came into the possession of Colonel Stretton, C.B. Athlone.

A few years since near Dalkey, County Dublin, upwards of sixty coins of Edgar were found.

A few years since two Anglo-Saxon coins of Edward the Elder and Athelstan, together with several pieces or ingots of silver, were found in a stone quarry near Mungrett, County Limerick.

* Probably of that class supposed to be used as money.

Do.	1265	of rings, armlets, chains, &c.
Do.	1025	Manufactured articles of gold & silver, consisting
Do.	7254	Small bars of silver
Do.	132	16 Ingots of silver about 8½ oz. each
Quarries Troy.	304	About 6500 coins, weighing about

A more particular account of this hoard has been drawn up by Edward Hawkins, Esq. and will be published in the Numismatic Chronicle. 1840—December.—In the County of Essex, a small parcel of Anglo-Saxon coins were found; they consisted of one of Edward the Elder with binding, Pl. 10, No. 17, and three others of the same type (Nos. 20, 30, 40) one of Athelstan, Pl. 17, No. 16, and another with V. B. reverse, V. L. I. A. X. MO. L. I. B. C. there were also fragments of four more and a piece of a fifth coin. They all came into the possession of Mr. Smith.

1841.—June.—About the middle of this month in Kent Valley, in bog and rounded by very high hills, lying between Colchester and Thirup, County of Essex, a young man being employed in clearing a new patch of island in length about fifty perches and bounded at its greatest breadth in the course of his work came on a skeleton, on or within which he discovered one hundred and fifty silver coins, two large silver pins with large heads, a ring of gold about an inch in diameter with a small opening, and the silver balls something about the size of the coins; the coins were sent by the finder to Dublin and sold for a few shillings, two only of them fell into the hands of Rev. Mr. Fitzgibbon, of Castle Town Dublin, and proved to be Anglo-Saxon coins of Edward the Elder.

Several years since, nine coins of Edward the Elder were found in Ireland; they are all in the cabinet of the late Dean of St. Patrick's.

A few years since a large parcel of Anglo-Saxon coins together with several silver ingots in form of rings, each of the weight of three ounces, were found in the west of the County of Kerry; about sixty of the coins, all of Edgar, and with one exception without heads, came into the possession of Colonel Foster, C.B. Athlone.

A few years since near Dalkey, County Dublin upwards of sixty coins of Edgar were found.

A few years since two Anglo-Saxon coins of Edward the Elder and Athelstan, together with several pieces of ingots of silver, were found in a stone quarry near Mungret, County Limerick.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE	REFERENCE.
1	Skeatta of Northumberland,	15	2	Author.
2	Do.	11	2	Do.
3	Do.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	Do.
4	Do.	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	Do.
5	Do.	broken.	2	Do.
6	of East-Anglia,	16	3	Do.
7	Do.	17	3	Do.
8	Do.	15	3	Do.
9	Do.	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	Do.
10	Do.	12	3	Do.
11	Do.	13	3	Do.
12	Do.	10	3	Do.
13	Do.	10	3	Do.
14	Do.	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	Do.
15	Do.	10	3	Do.
16	Do.	11	3	Do.
17	Do.	10	3	Do.
18	Do.	13	3	Do.
19	Do.	12	5	Do.
20	Uncertain,	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	Do.
21	Do.	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	Do.
22	Do.	broken.	..	Do.
23	Do.	19	23	Do.
24	Do.	8	..	Do.
25	Styca of Alchred?	18	10	Do.
26	— Eardulf,	15	11	Do.
27	Do.	..	11	Late Mr. Leyburne.
28	Do.	16	11	Author.
29	Do.	10	11	Do.
30	Do.	16	11	Do.
31	— of Alfwald II.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	Do.
32	Do.	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	Do.
33	Ethelred II.	8	14	Do.
34	Redulf,	13	15	Do.
35	Osbercht,	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	Do.
36	Do.	14	16	Do.
37	Vulfhere, Abp. York,	broken.	74	Do.
38	Uncertain,	12	..	Do.
39	Do.	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	Do.
40	Do.	broken.	..	Do.

PLATE 2.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE	REFERENCE.
41	Anlaf, K. Northumberland, ..	..	21	Col. Stretton.
42	Do. ..	..	21	Do.
43	Eric, Do. ..	18½	22	Author.
44	Offa, K. Mercia, ..	..	27	Mr. Haigh.
45	Berhtulf, Do. Burnwald, ..	13	39	Mr. Sainthill.
46	Do. Sigeheah, ..	16¼	39	Do.
47	Burgred, Do. ..	18	40	Author.
48	Do. ..	15¾	40	Mr. Sainthill.
49	Ethelstan II. (Guthrum,) K. East-Anglia, ..	..	58	Do.
50	St. Eadmund, ..	20	69	Author.
51	Do. ..	..	69	Mr. Coxon.
52	St. Peter, Sword, reverse, Cross, ..	..	70	Dean St. Patrick's.
53	Do. ..	..	70	Do.
54	Do. ..	..	70	Do.
55	Uncertain, type of St. Peter, ..	..	18	Do.
56	EBRAICE . CIVITAS, reverse, ACRTEN .	..	79	Do.
57	EBRAIC . CIV . reverse, Do. ..	18	79	Mr. Sainthill.
58	EBIAICE . CIV . reverse, Do. ..	21	79	Author.
59	Do. CI . reverse, BACRTI . ..	20¾	79	Mr. Sainthill.
60	EBRAICE . C. reverse, MIRABILIA . FEI .	22	79	Do.
61	EBRAECE . C. reverse, Do. blundered, ..	..	79	Do.
62	MIRABILIA . FEI . reverse, ACRTEN .	20	79	Mr. Sainthill.
63	Wulfred, Abp. Canterbury, ..	19¼	76	Do.
64	Plegmund, Do. ..	22	78	Do.

PLATE 3.

65	Siefredus, K. Northumberland, ..	..	67	Do.
66	Do. Do. ..	..	67	Do.
67	Do. Do. ..	22½	67	Mr. Sainthill.
68	Do. Do. ..	..	67	Do.
69	Do. Do. ..	21½	67	Mr. Sainthill.
70	Do. Do. ..	20½	67	Do.
71	Do. Do. ..	..	67	Do.
72	Do. Do. ..	..	67	Do.
73	Do. Do. ..	..	67	Do.
74	Do. Do. Halfpenny, ..	..	67	Do.
75	CYNNETTI . reverse ACRTEN, ..	..	79	Do.
76	Do. Do. ..	21	79	Author.
77	CVNNTI, reverse ACRTN, ..	19	79	Mr. Sainthill.
78	CIHINTTI, reverse ACDTIN, ..	17¾	79	Do.
79	CYNNETTI, reverse BACRTI, ..	22	79	Do.
80	Halfpenny, Do. reverse, ACRTEN, ..	..	79	Do.
81	Do Do. Monogram of Carlus, Do. ..	9	80	Mr. Sainthill.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

129

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE	REFERENCE.
82	Halfpenny, EVERAT, reverse, ME FECIT, ..	..	80	Do.
83	MIRABILIA FECIT. reverse, DNSDSOREX, ..	..	80	Do.
84	Do. blundered, .. Do. ..	..	80	Do.
85	Skeatta, uncertain,	19½	23	Author.
86	St. Edmund's Penny, perfect legend, ..	..	69	Rev. Mr. Martin.
87	Do. Halfpenny,	..	69	Do.
88	Plegmund, Abp. Canterbury, with DORO in the field, ..	..	78	Do.

PLATE 4.

89	Chief or Sole Monarchs, Egbert, ..	18½	114	Mr. Sainthill.
90	Ethelwulf with head, ..	..	114	Rev. Mr. Martin.
91	Do. without head, ..	broken.	63	Mr. Sainthill.
92	Alfred, reverse, Londonia in monogram, ..	..	115	Rev. Mr. Martin.
93	Uncertain monogram, ..	..	85	Dr. Smith.
94	Lincolia in monogram, ..	..	86	Do.
95	Without head, London in monogram, ..	..	115	Do.
96	Struck at Oxford, ..	..	115	Rev. Mr. Martin.
97	Exeter, ..	..	85	Do.
98	Winchester, ..	..	85	Mr. Cuff.
99	Common type, A. in the field, ..	26	66	Mr. Sainthill.
100	Halfpenny, Cudberit, ..	..	86	Rev. Mr. Martin.
101	Do. Udbern, ..	7	86	Do.
102	Edward the Elder, head to left, ..	21	115	Mr. Sainthill.
103	Do. to right, ..	..	86	Rev. Mr. Martin.
104	Do. Do. ..	..	115	Do.
105	Do. Do. ..	..	86	Do.
106	Do. without head, ..	24	115	Author.
107	Athelstan, Aethelerd, Moefet, ..	18½	87	Mr. Sainthill.
108	Do. Hungar, Mo. Rof Civit, ..	24	87	Author.
109	Edmund, Barbe, Mo. Northwic, ..	..	87	Mr. Peter.
110	Do. Clacmone, Moneiitx, ..	..	87	Mr. Sainthill.
111	Edred, Clacmone, Mone, Monex, ..	23½	88	Do.
112	Do. ARE. MT. LENCOIAIV. ..	..	88	Mr. Peter.

PLATE 5.

113	Edwy, Sedeman, Mo, ..	..	88	Mr. Peter.
114	Do. Efrard, Mo, ..	..	88	Do.
115	Do. reverse, inner circle, Aethelgar, Mo, ..	..	88	Dr. Smith.
116	Eadgar, rude head to left, ..	..	116	Mr. Peter.
117	Do. without head, ..	..	89	Do.
118	Do. VR DBY, ..	..	88	Do.
119	Do. Rex. Tod, ..	..	..	Do.
120	Do. Rex Mt. Leofnel, Mo Met, ..	..	89	Do.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT. GRAINS.	PAGE	REFERENCE.
121	Do. Manai Mo,	21	89	Author.
122	Ethelred II. Irish type, D in one angle of cross, ..	broken.	...	Do.
123	Do. CRVX. head to left,	24	..	Do.
124	Do. blundered legend, reverse, hand,	28	..	Do.
125	Cnut, head with mitre,	16	...	Do.
126	Edward the Confessor, PACS,	13½	..	Do.
127	Do. Do. retrograde,	17	..	Do.
128	Do. with mitre, without Rex,	22½	..	Do.
129	Do. Godwine Widin on Win,	19½	94	Do.
130	Do. with helmet,	broken.	..	Do.
131	Do. Do. singular legend,	16½	..	Do.
132	Do. Edgar on Beorc,	17½	93	Do.
133	Do. Sceptre surmounted by a cross,	17½	94	Do.
134	Do. with halberd,	..	..	Mr. Abel.
135	Do. small size with sceptre,	17½	93	Author.
136	Do. ten grains probably a halfpenny,	10	94	Do.

PLATE 6.—(SUPPLEMENTAL.)

137	Offa, Bannard,	..	..	Mr. Cuff.
138	Cuthred, Sigeberht,	..	61	Do.
139	Eohric, K. East-Angles,	..	..	..
140	St. Edmund, Daemond,	20	..	Author.
141	Halfpenny, uncertain,	..	..	Rev. Mr. Martin.
142	Alfred, without head Dudig,	23	86	Author.
143	Do. Do. Ludig,	22	86	Mr. Sainthill.
144	Athelstan, Do. Eie M. Luner,	..	87	Dr. Smith.
145	Edred, Do. Baldwin,	20	88	Author.
146	Do. Do. Northgar,	..	88	Mr. Peter.
147	Edwy, Do. Faneel,	..	88	Do.
148	Edgar, Do. Frethices,	..	89	Do.
149	Do. Do. Eadmun,	..	88	Do.
150	Do. Do. Elfred,	..	88	Do.
151	Do. Do. Deorulf Mo Te,	..	88	Do.
152	Do. Do. Deorlaf Mo Le,	22	88	Author.
153	Do. Do. Herolf,	..	..	Mr. Peter,
154	Do. Do. Wilsig,	..	89	Do.
155	Ethelred II. lamb and cross,	21½	89	Mr. Sainthill.
156	Do. Building,	..	..	..
157	Edward the Confessor, Wareham,	17	93	Author.
158	Do. full face,	..	94	Mr. Hoare.
159	St. Eadmund, penny,	..	..	..
160	EBIAICE. CIVI. reverse, ACR TEN,	..	79	..

ADVERTISEMENT.

Since the greater portion of this Work has gone through the Press, I have derived from various quarters a considerable accession to the materials I had collected, some of which now require a few observations.

In the 6th or Supplemental Plate will be found several very interesting coins, which from the circumstances just mentioned I was unable to insert in their proper places.

The beautiful little Offa, No. 137, presents us with a type different from any of those I have noticed. The Cuthred, No. 138 I was able to describe, although not to engrave in its proper place. The coin, No. 139, which has been assigned to Eohric, king of the East-Angles, 890, has been the subject of much discussion, but although its appropriation to that prince does not appear to be certain, there are many peculiarities about it which render it likely to belong to him; the obverse legend appears to be intended for **EARICR RIEIX**, and it may be observed that the **R.** at the end of the word *Earic* is not an unusual appendage to Danish names, as *Cnutr, Olafr, Geirovdr, Sigurdr*, the letters also, the type and the general appearance of the coin pronounce it to have been struck at the latter end of the ninth century, which is precisely the period during which Eohric reigned.

No. 141 is a still more uncertain coin; its obverse legend appears retrograde, and as if intended for *Edelstan*, although almost all the letters forming the name *St. Eadmund* may be found in it; it may therefore be considered doubtful whether intended for Ethelstan II. (Guthrum,) or for St. Eadmund, but the appearance of the coin would rather favour the latter, particularly when we consider the blundered legends which occur on so many of the coins of that Saint.

The singular coin of Ethelred II., with the lamb and cross on one side, and dove on the other, lately procured from France by Mr. Sainthill, has been

already noticed in the observations on the Malmsbury mint, p. 89, and is engraved in the same Plate, No 155, and I have given another equally singular of the same prince, No. 156, and which has been lately published in the *Blatter Fur Munzkunde*.

No. 159 presents on the reverse a very singular but unintelligible legend, as many of St. Eadmund's pennies do.

Mr. Haigh has directed my attention to the weight of the uncertain coins found at Cuerdale, and in this work classed with the Anglo-Saxon, as being generally from eighteen to twenty-two grains, whilst those of the French kings average twenty-seven grains, and I agree with him that it is an additional proof of their being struck in England, that they assimilate so nearly in weight to the Anglo-Saxon coins of that period; he also justly remarks that the resemblance between the cross on the coins of Siefredus, Nos. 72, 74 to that of Alfred, No. 96, is another proof if indeed any was wanting, that the coins of the former were struck in England.

A closer inspection of the coins of the Confessor has led me to remark that on Nos. 135 and 158 of the plates of this work, the same moneyers name (*Leofwine*) appears, and we are furnished with an additional proof that the word HOPN on No. 158, is the surname of a moneyer, as we find the same mint occurring on both, viz. O. on one, and OXF. on the other, and attached to the same moneyer's name, or perhaps those of two moneyers distinguished by the surname just mentioned.

In the Numismatic Journal for April 1838, the reader will find adduced by Sir H. Ellis, an additional proof that *Ceoca* was a surname, and not as Ruding supposes the name of a second moneyer.

I cannot conclude this work without again expressing the great obligations I am under to Daniel Henry Haigh, Esq., for his very valuable assistance in the progress of this work, particularly in the appropriation of the coins of Ethelstan to the son of Egbert.

I am also indebted to Samuel Skillin, Esq. for several beautiful and accurate drawings taken from coins in the cabinet of Richard Sainthill, Esq.

Mr. Peter to whom in p. vii. I expressed myself as being so much indebted, is Richard Peter, Esq., Grafton Street, Dublin.

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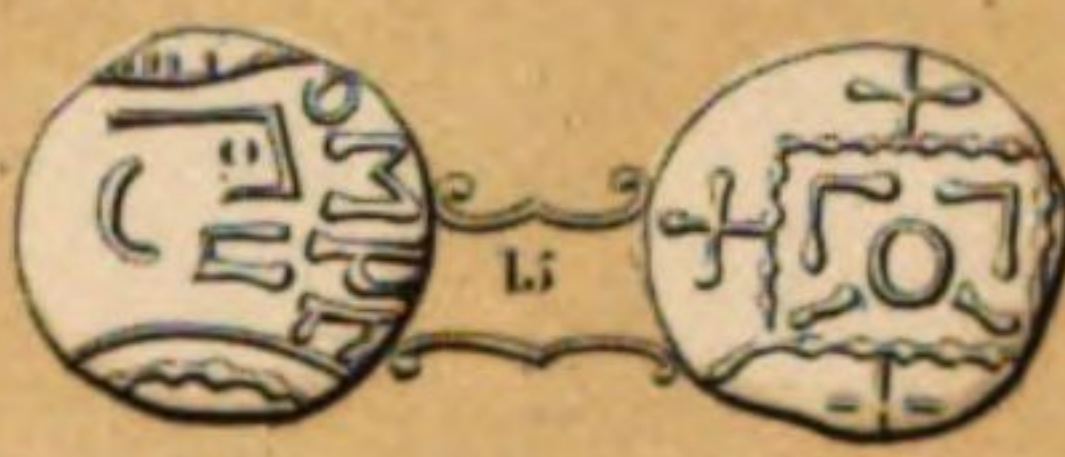
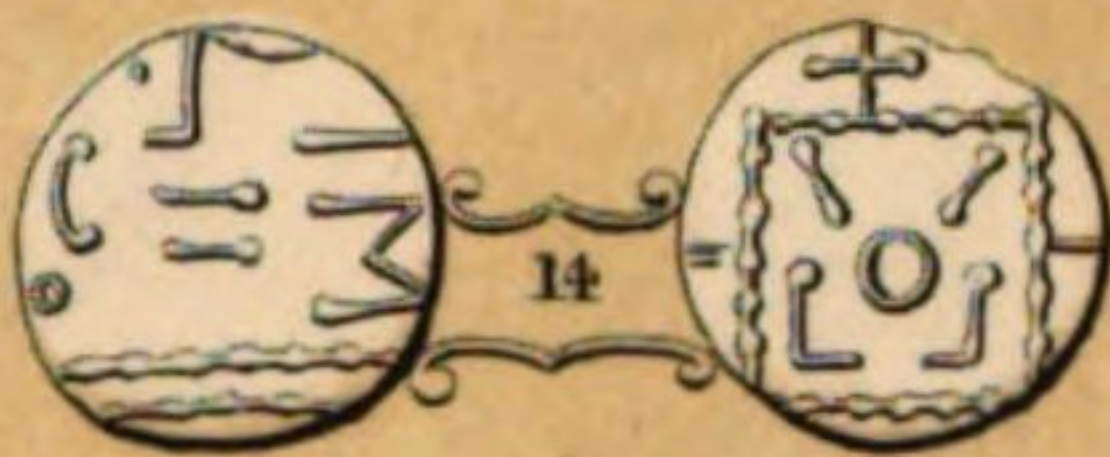
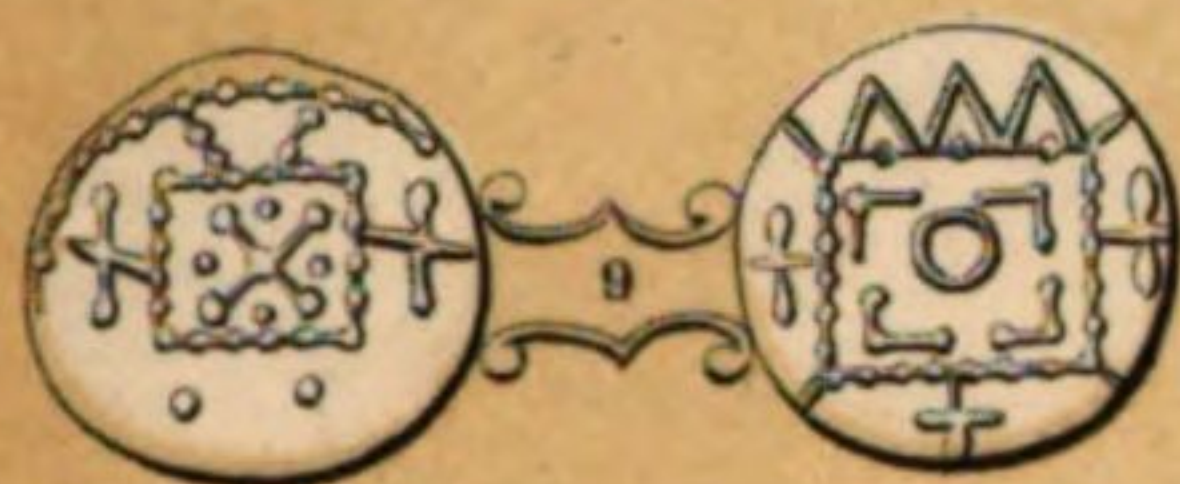
PLATE I.

Northumberland

SKEATTAS



East Angles



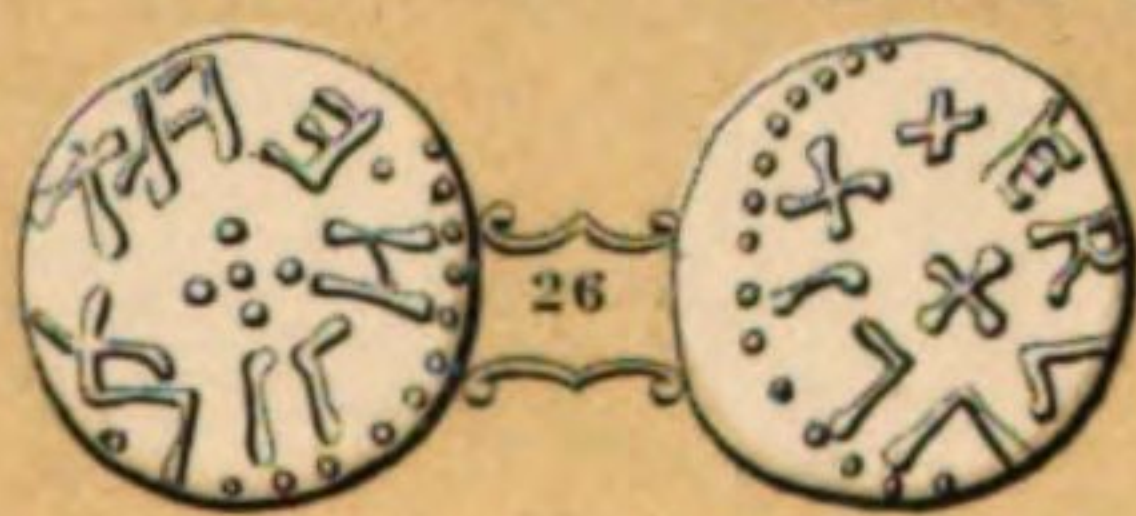
Uncertain



Alfred?

Eardulf

STYCAS.



Alfwald II.



Ethelred

Redulf

Osbert



Vulphere

Uncertain



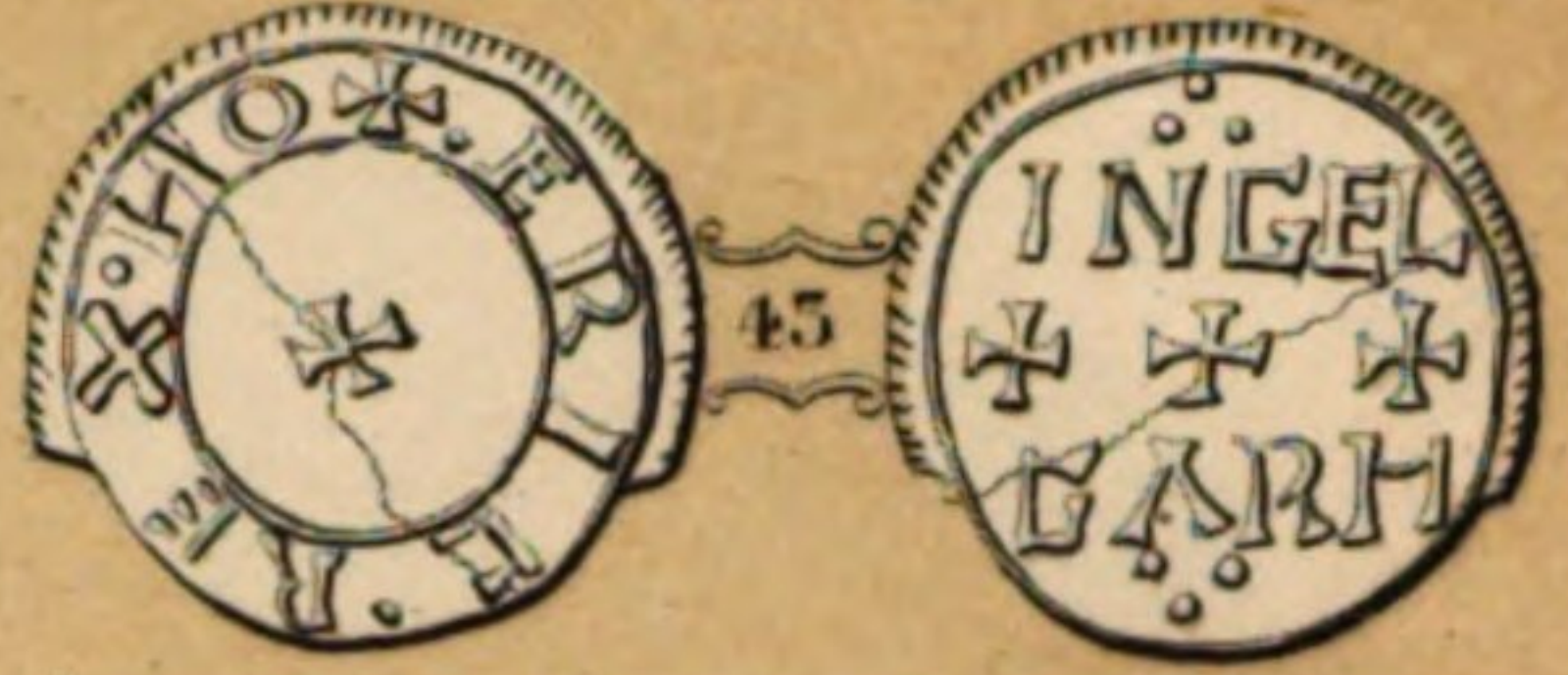
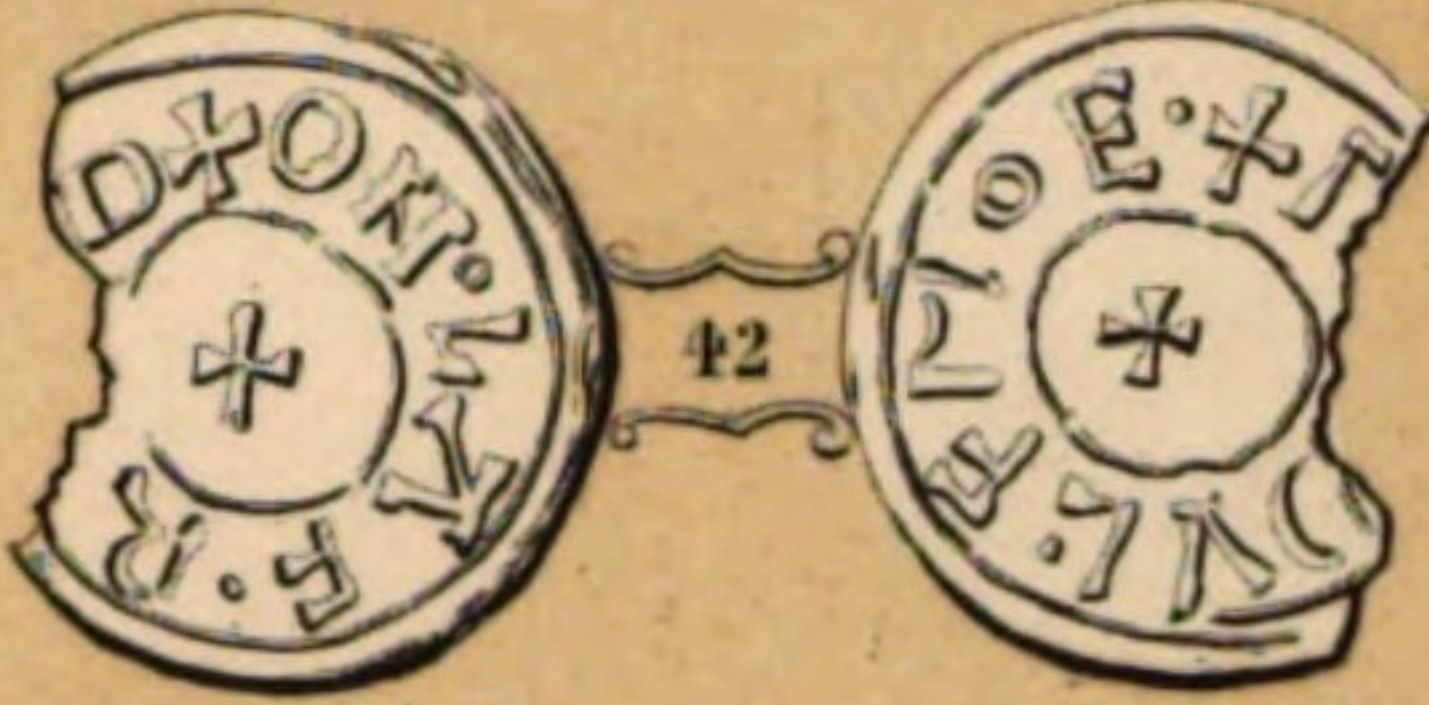
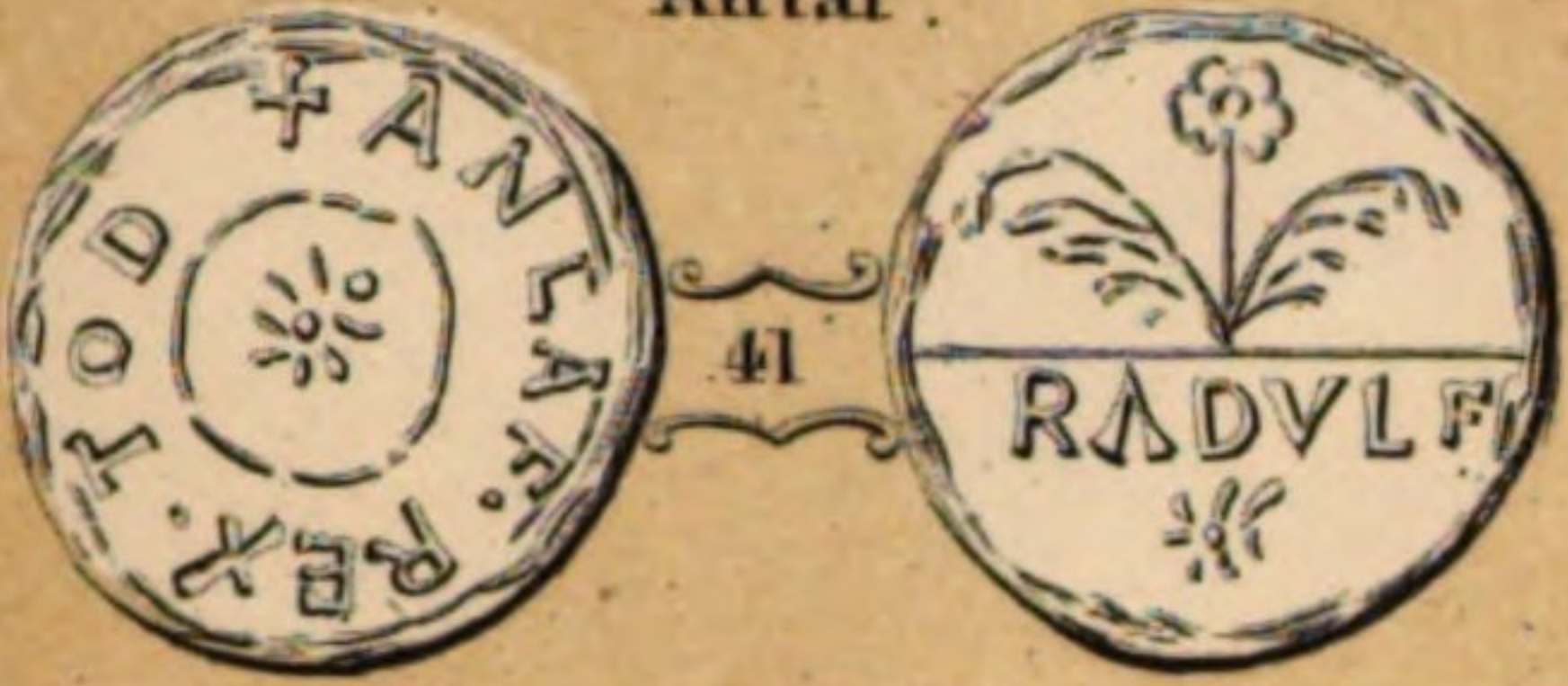


PLATE 3.

HEPTARCHIC PENNIES

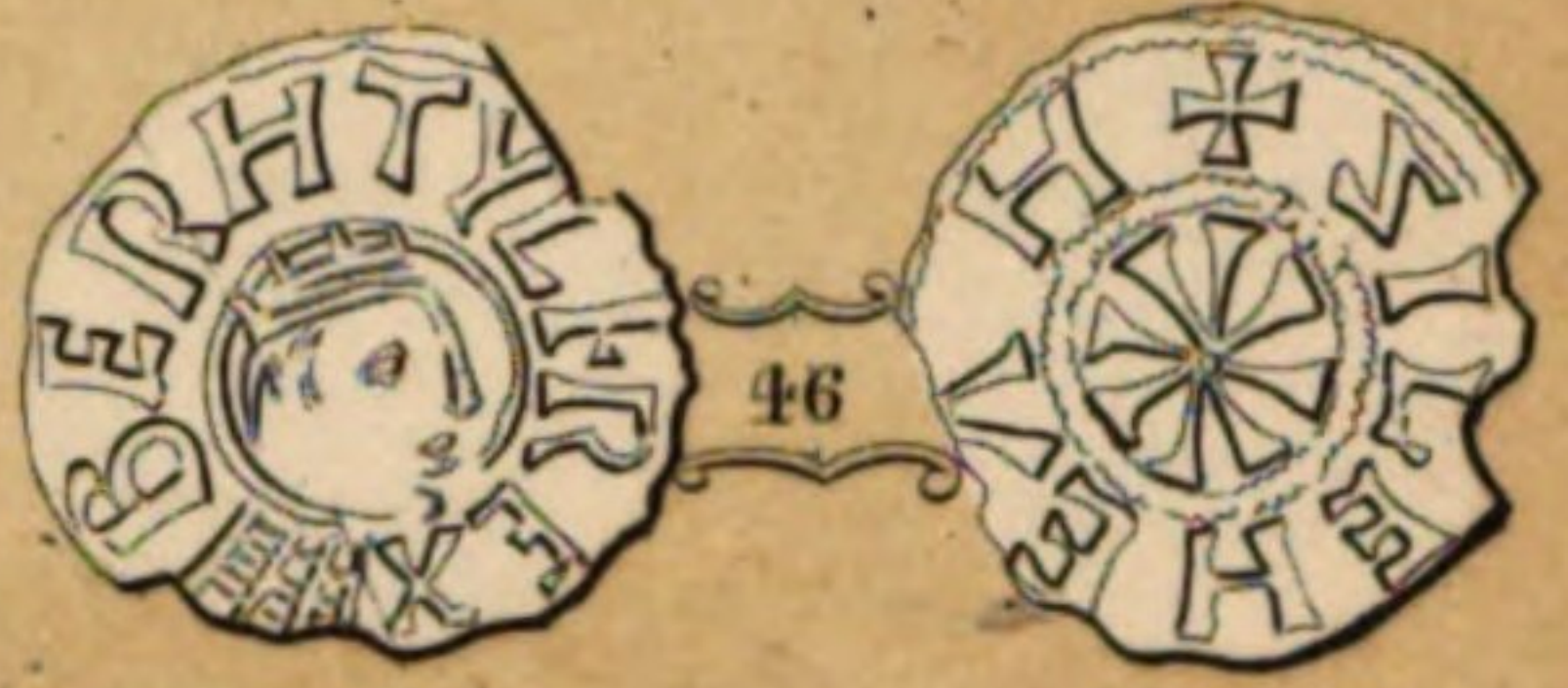
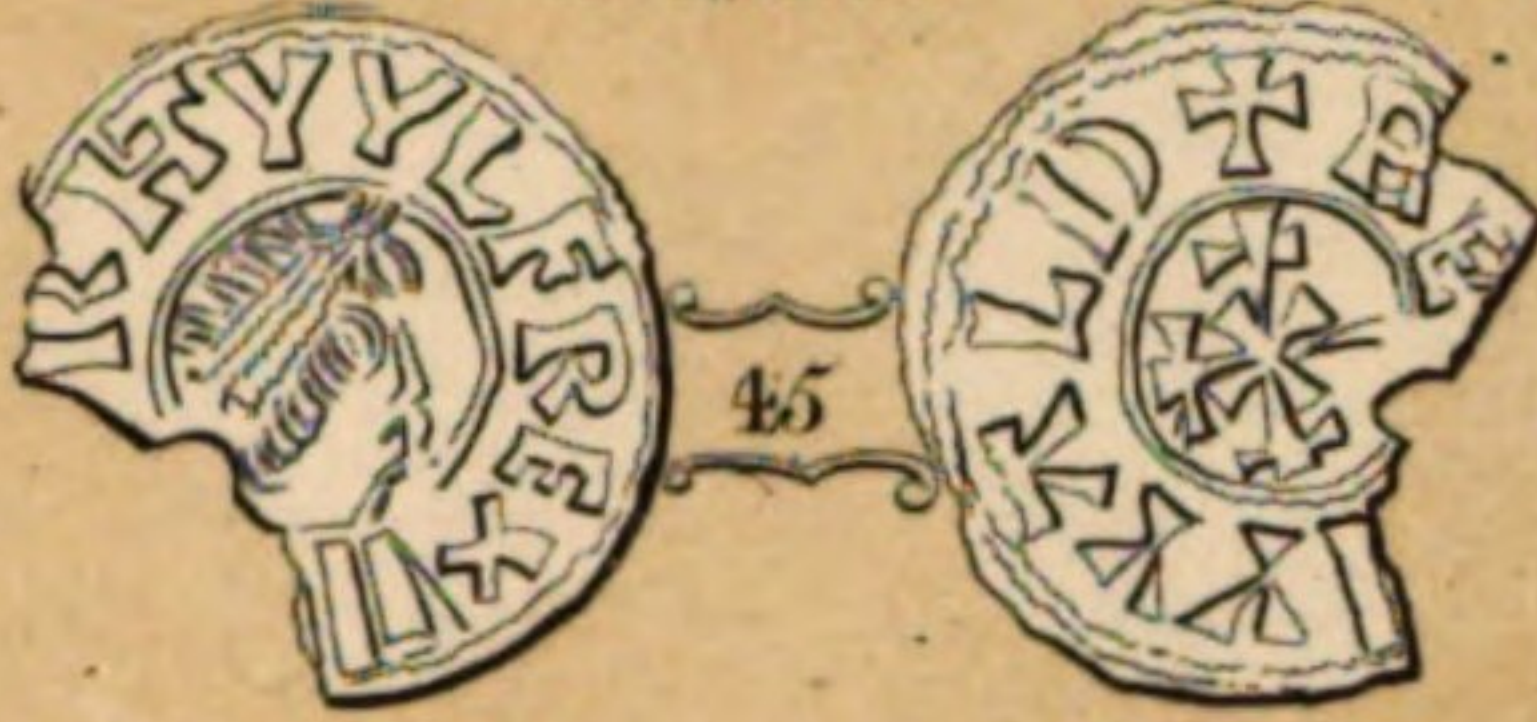
Aulaf

Eric



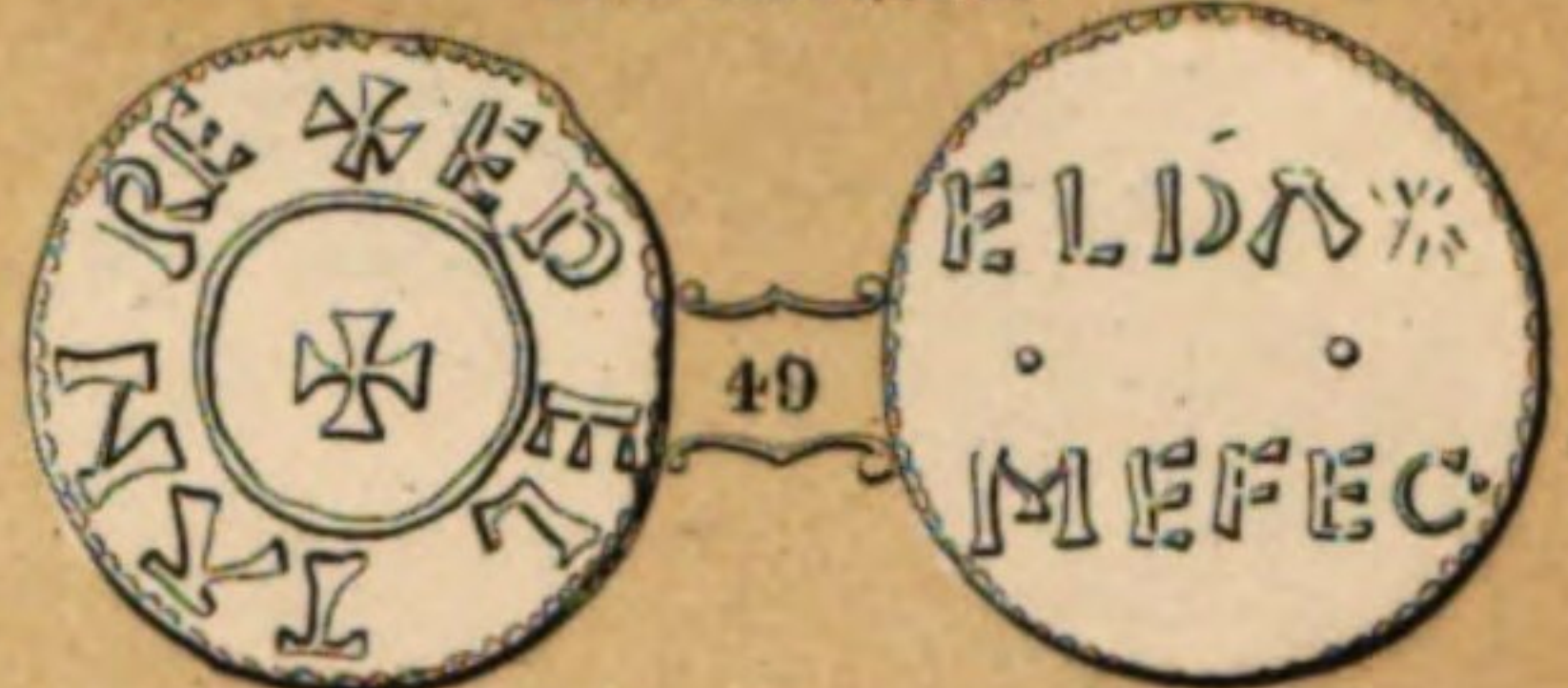
Offa

Berhtulf



Burgred

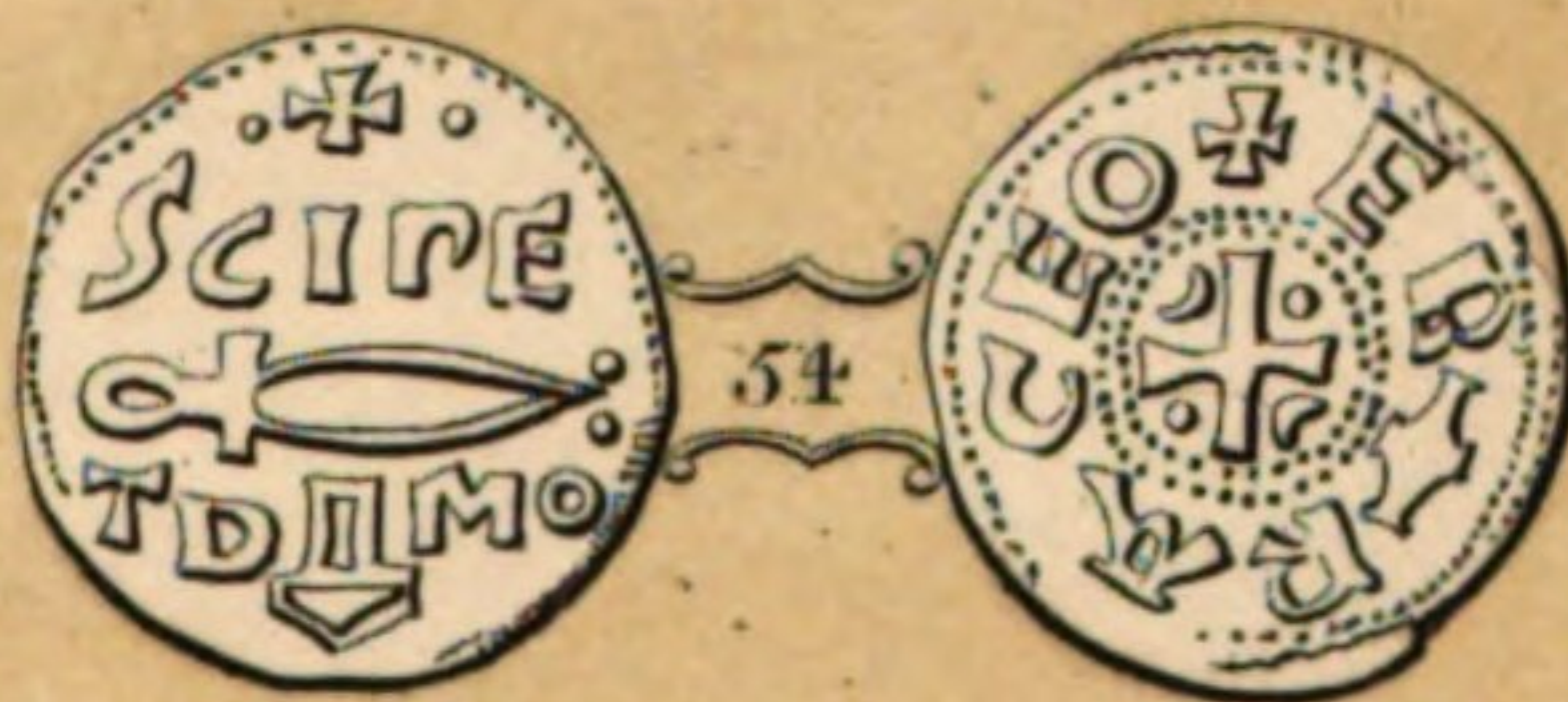
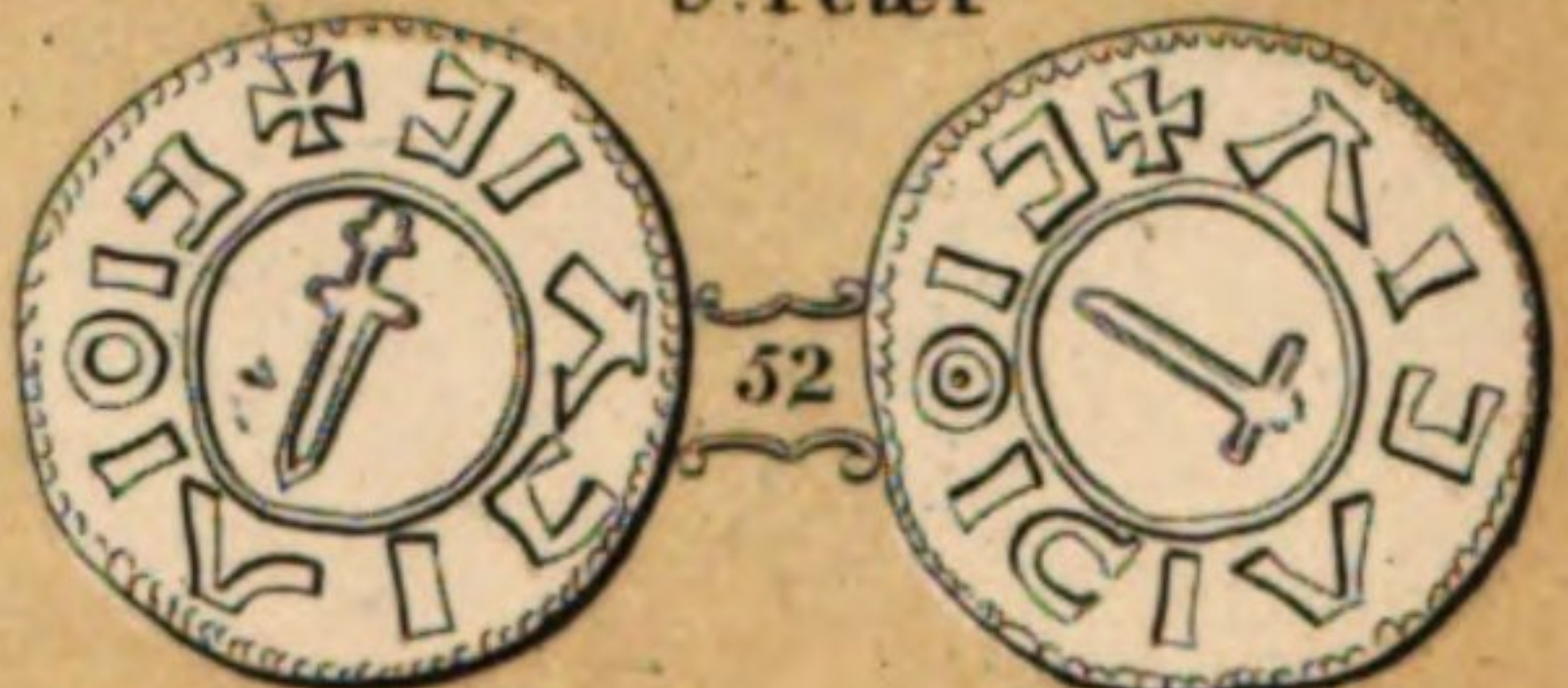
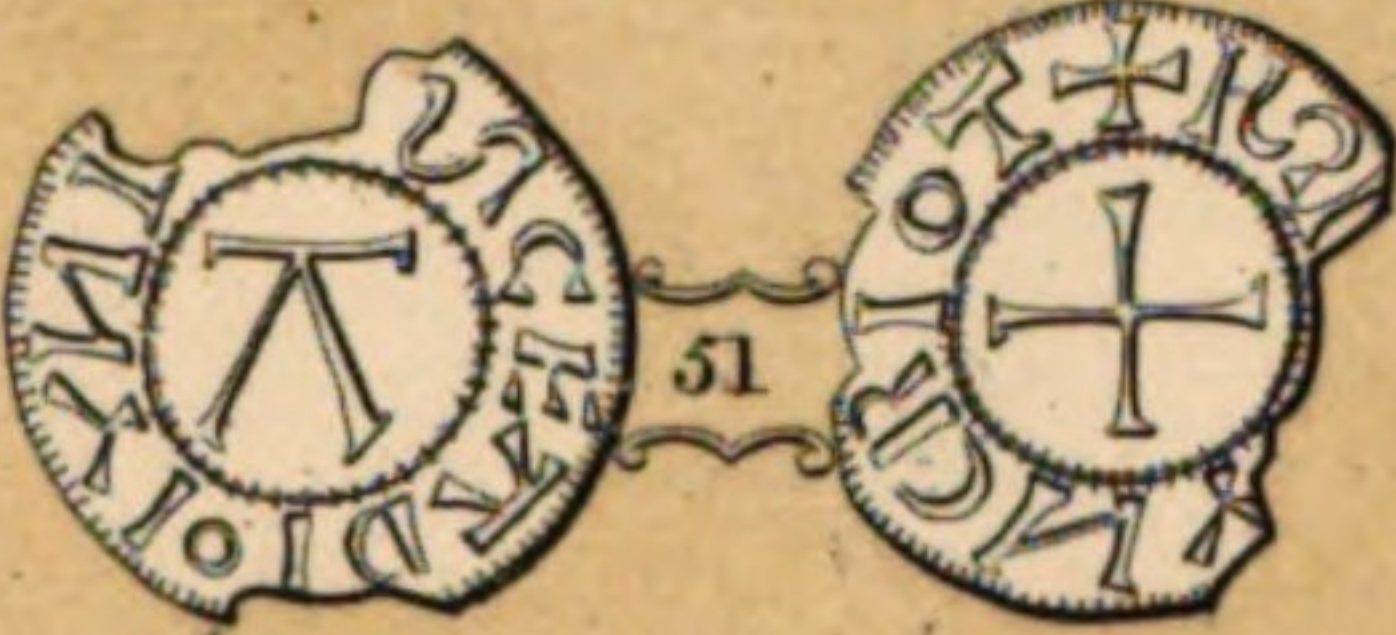
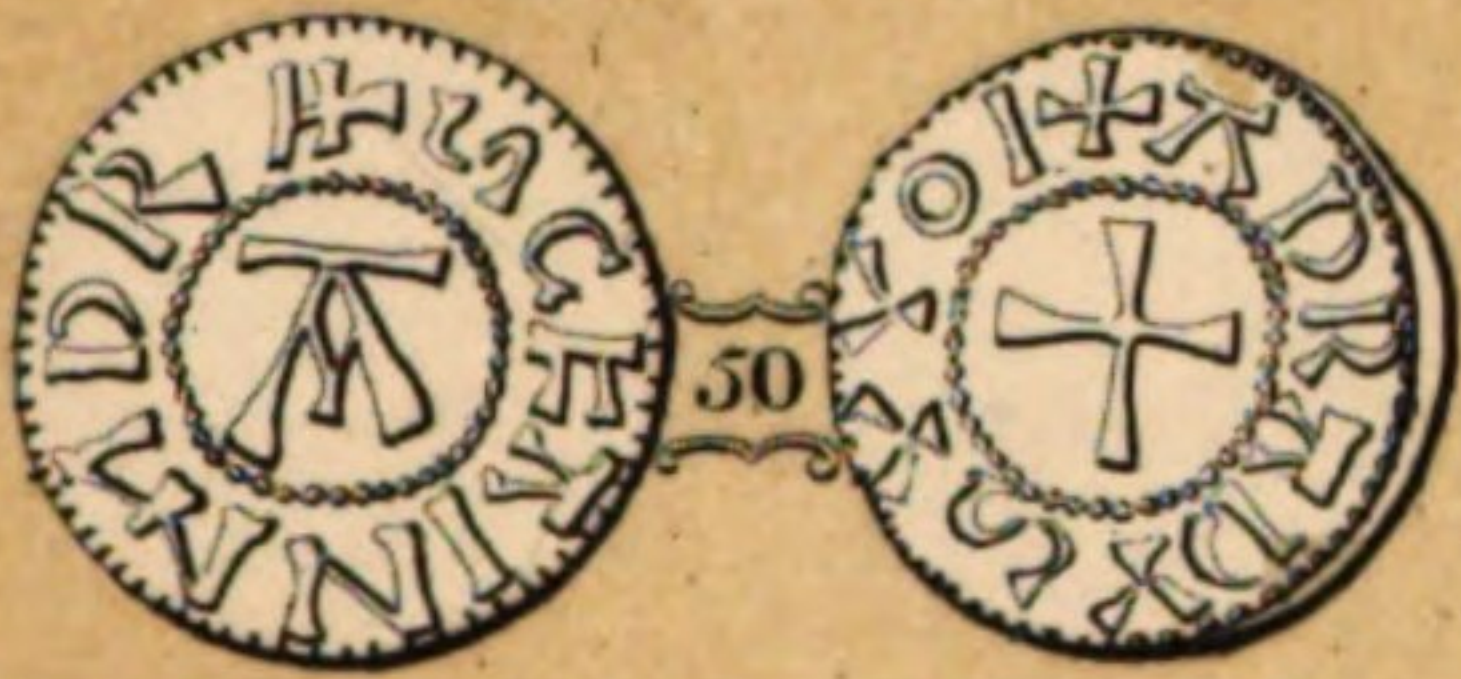
Ethelstan II



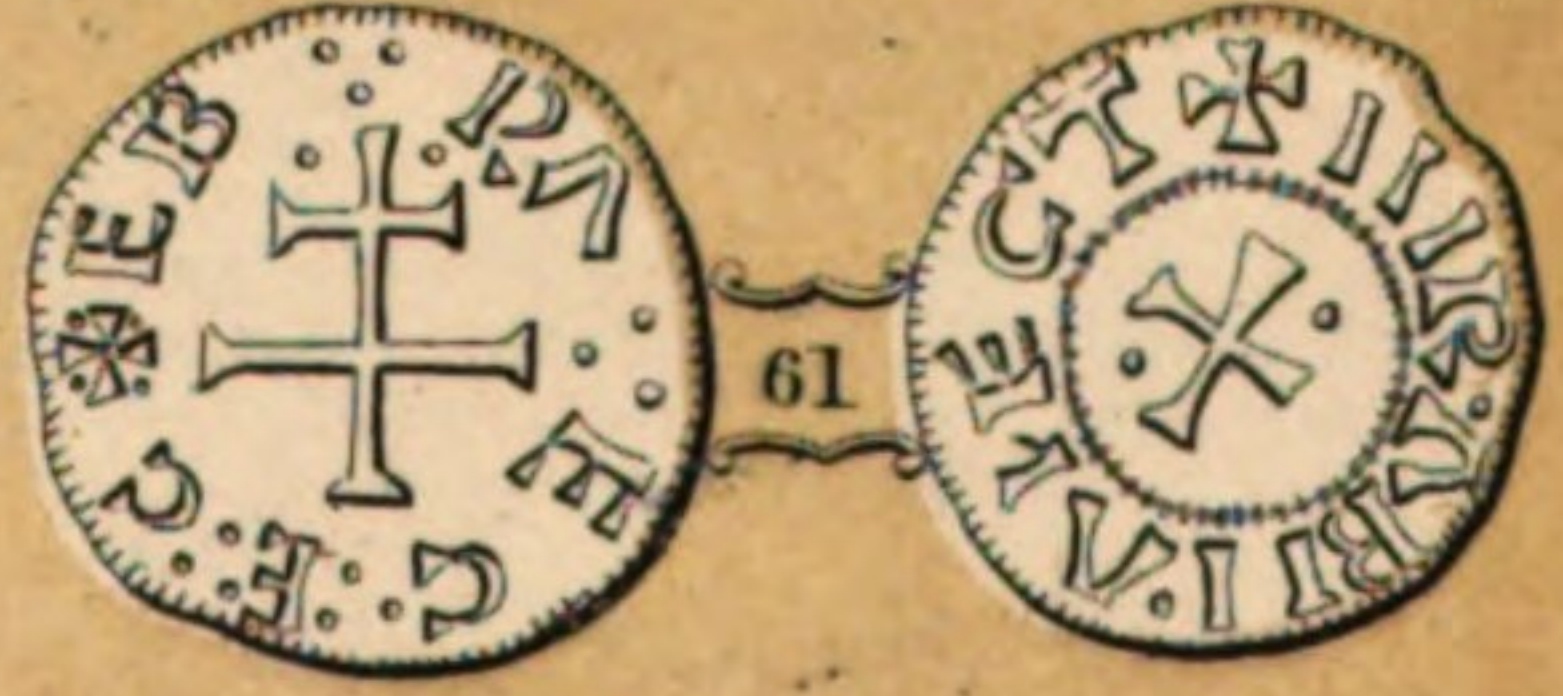
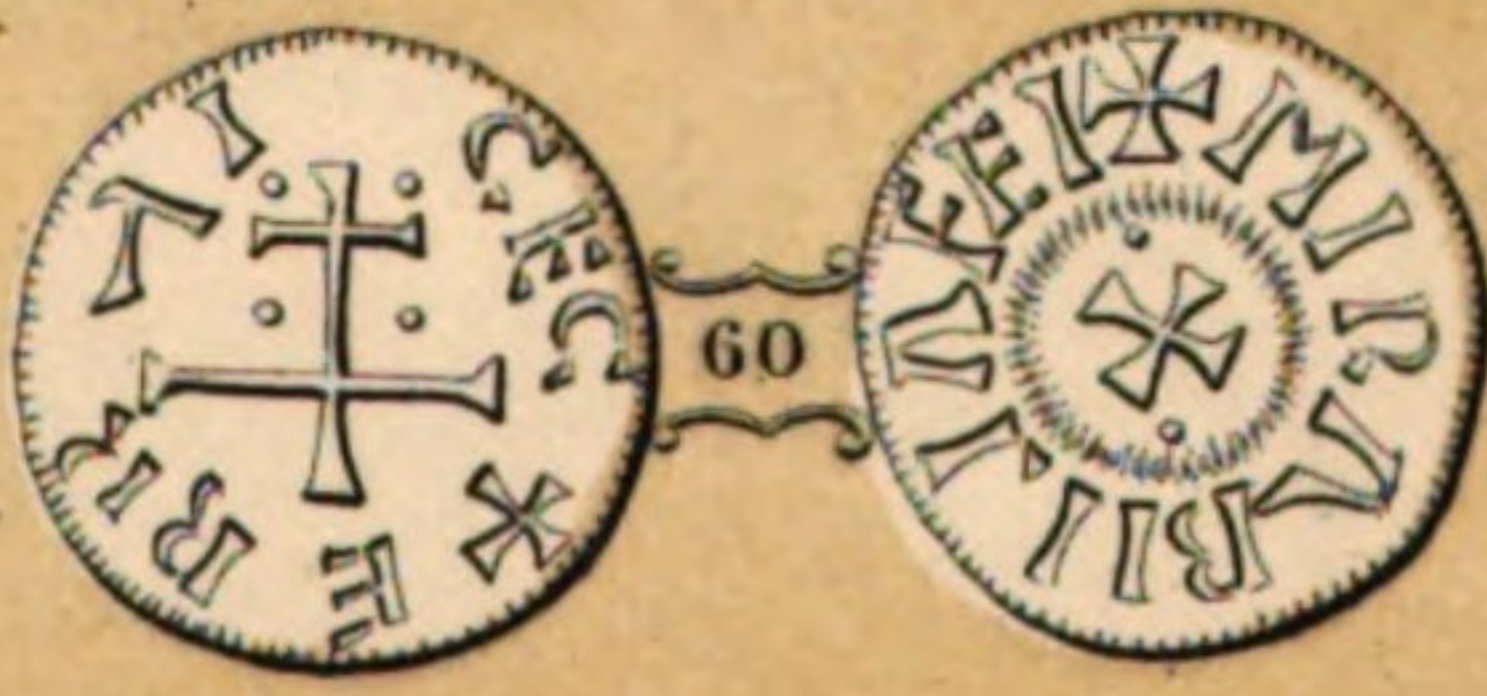
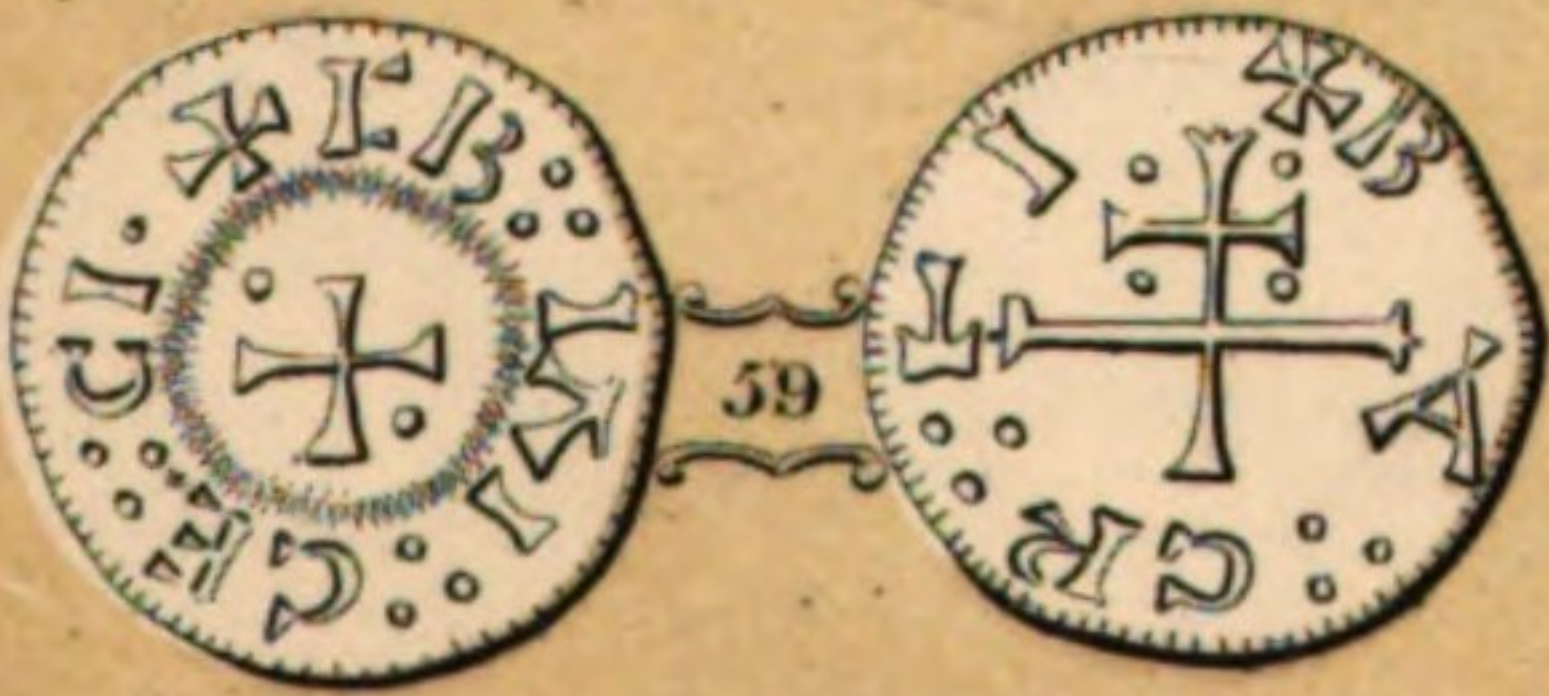
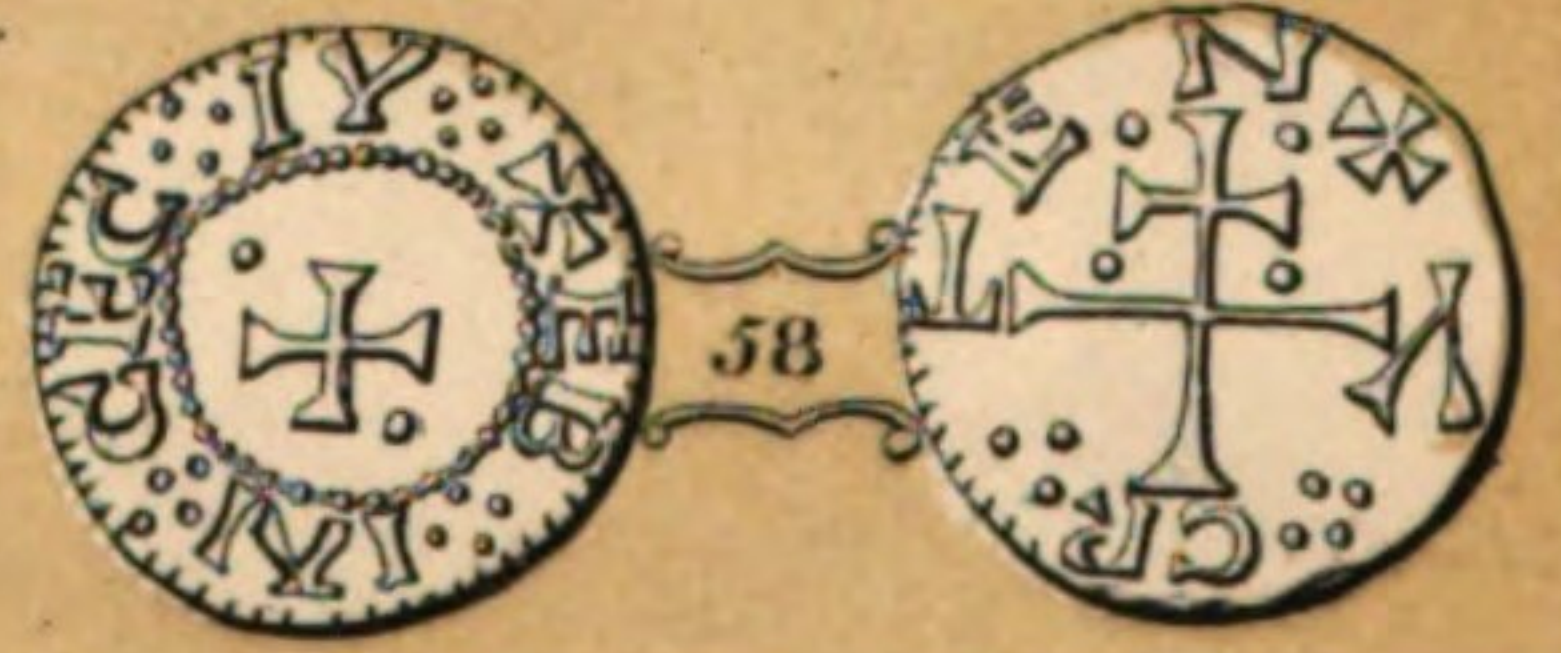
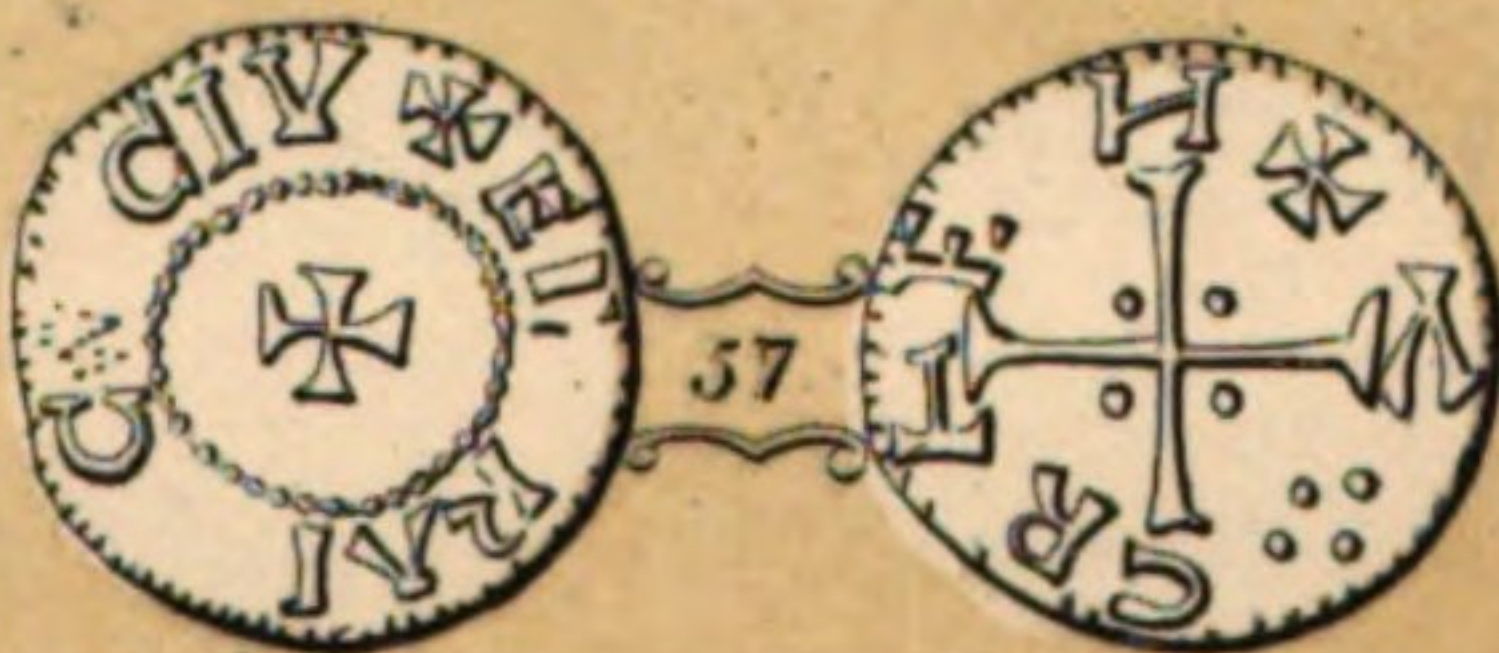
S' Eadmund

ECCLESIASTICAL PENNIES

S' Peter



Uncertain



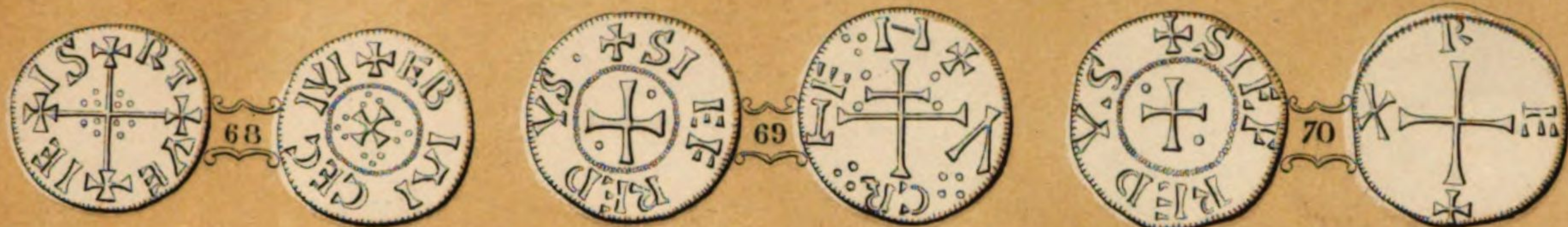
Wulfred

Plegmund

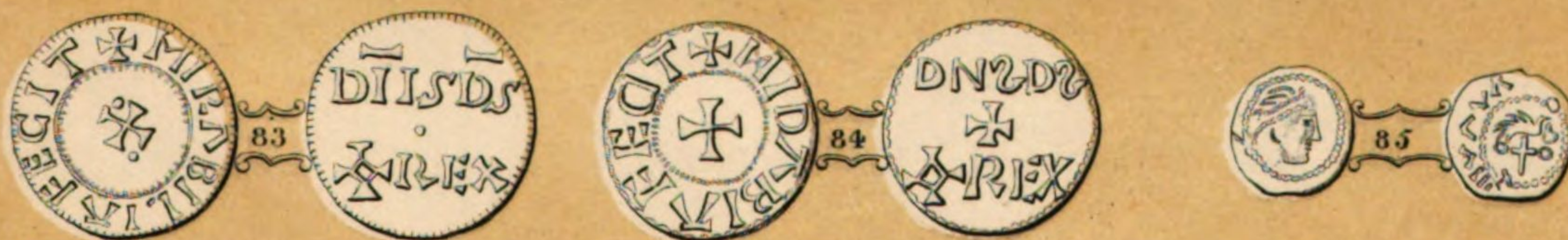
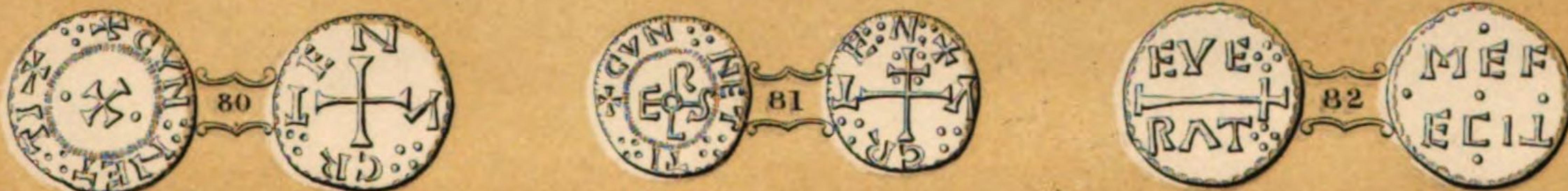
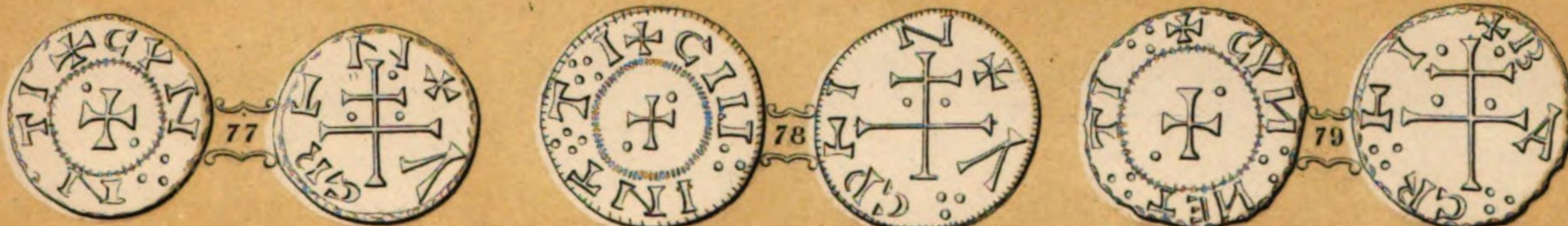


PLATE 3

Siefredus



Uncertain



S^t Edmund



Plegmund



PLATE 4.

Ecgbeart



Ethelwulf



Ælfred



Eadweard the Elder



Æthelstan



Eadmund

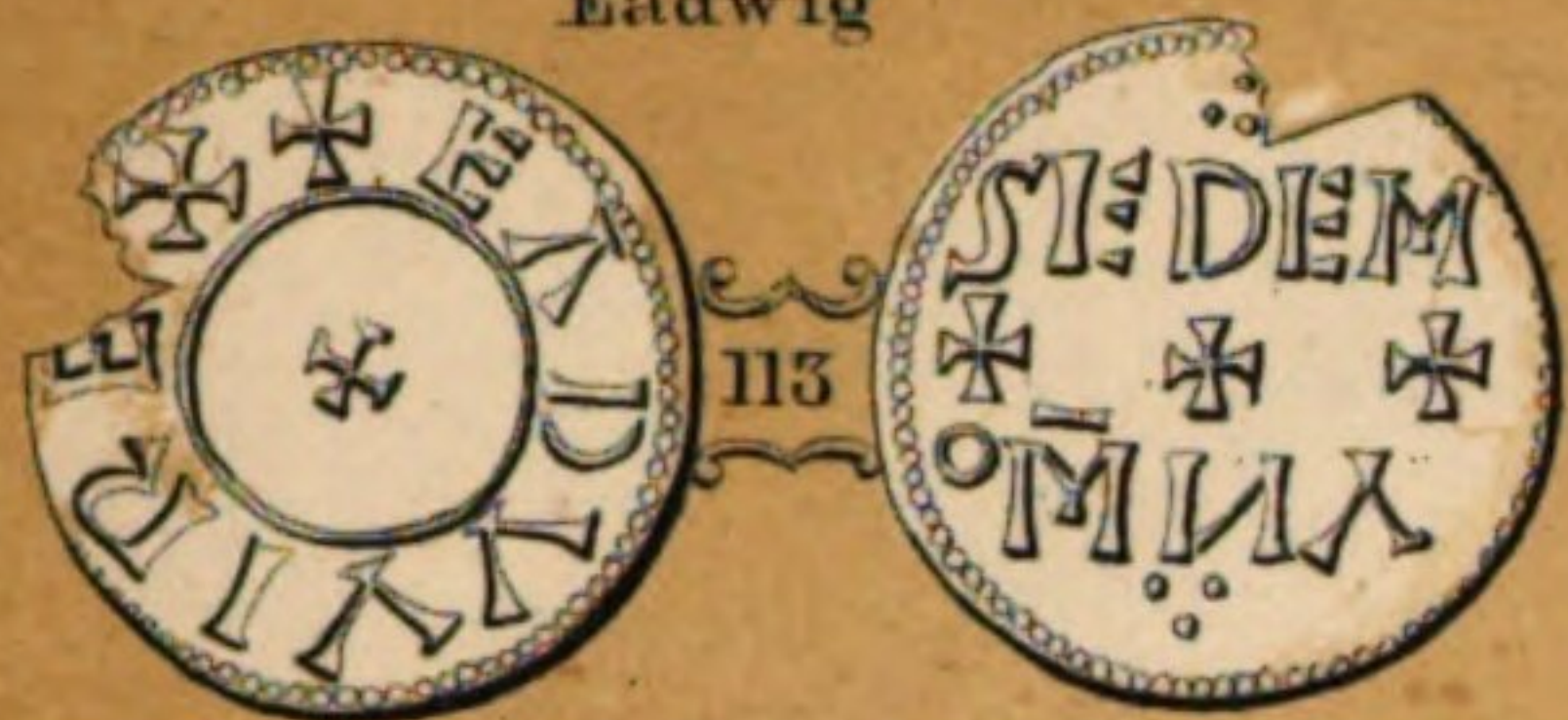


Eadred



PLATE 5.

Eadwig



Eadgar

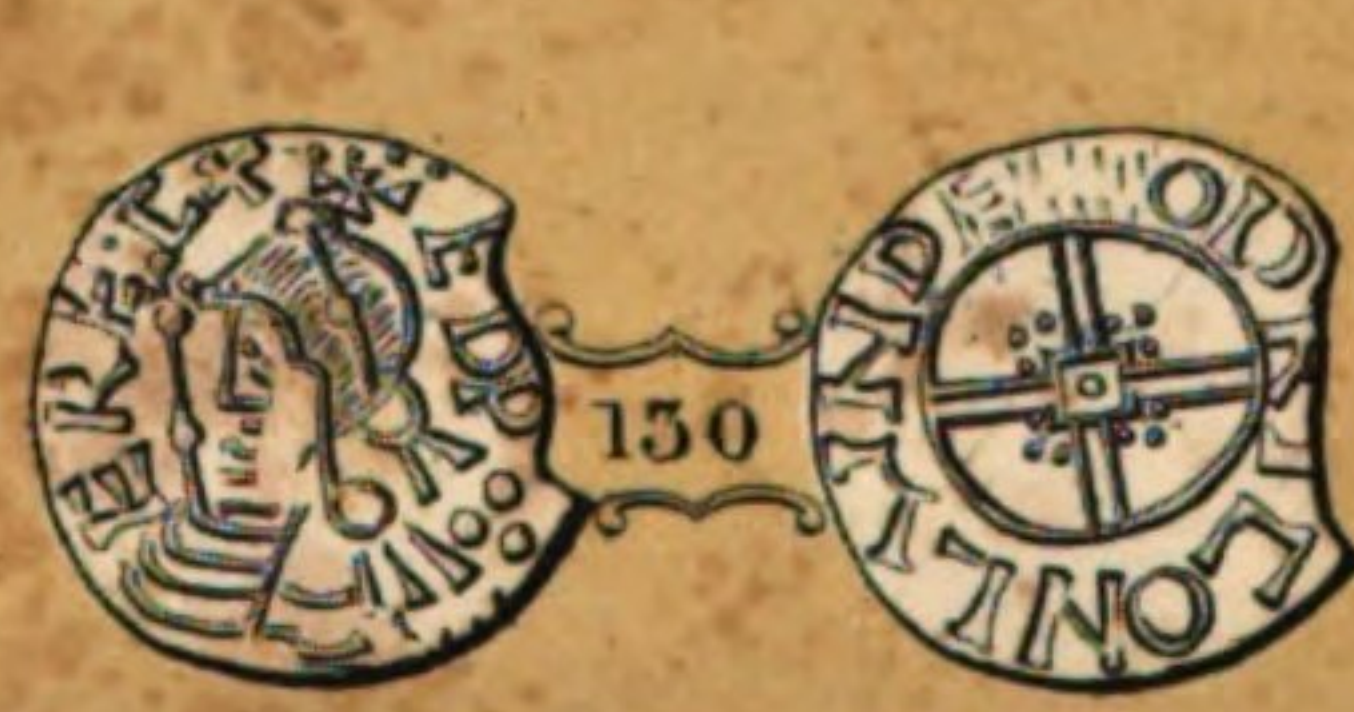
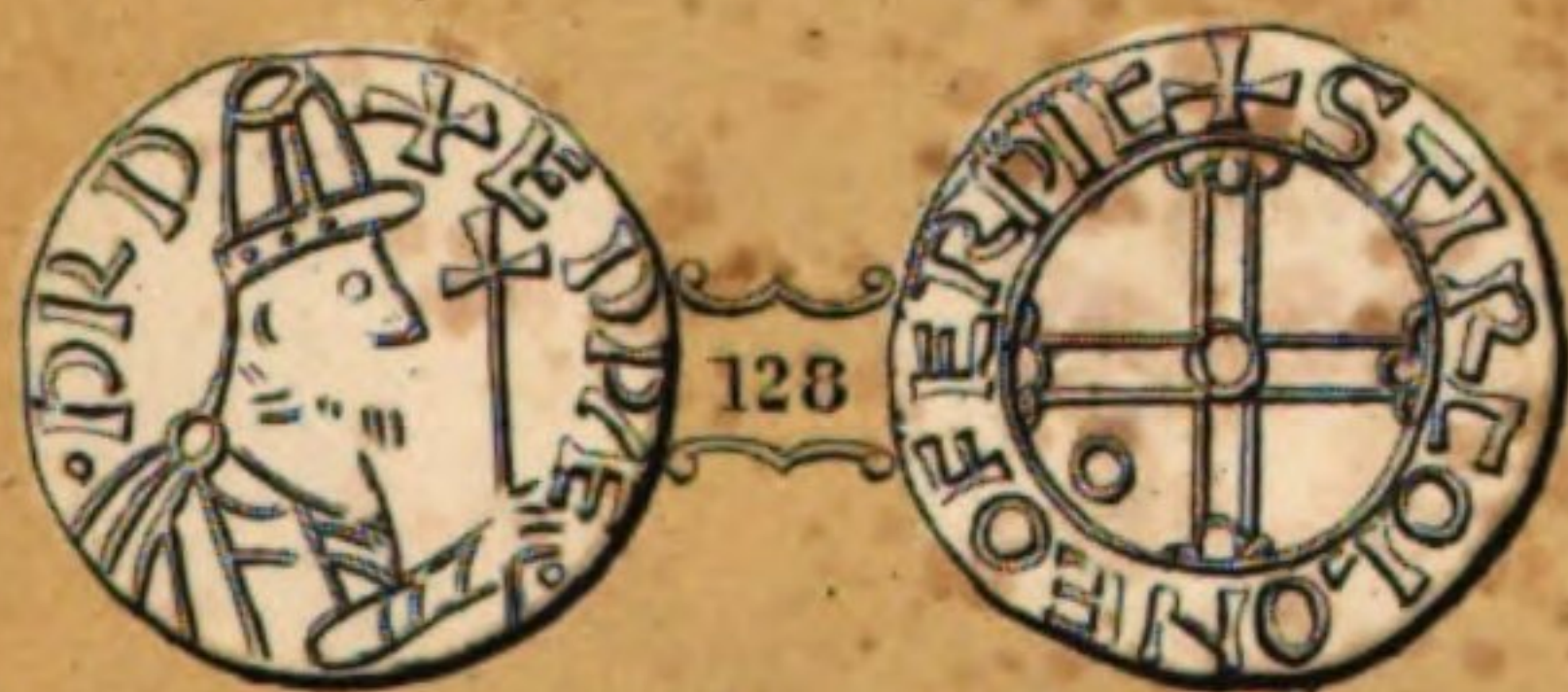


Ethelred II.



Cnut.

Edward the Confessor



(SUPPLEMENTAL)
PLATE 6.

Offa



Cuthred



Rohric



S' Eadmund



Uncertain



Alfred



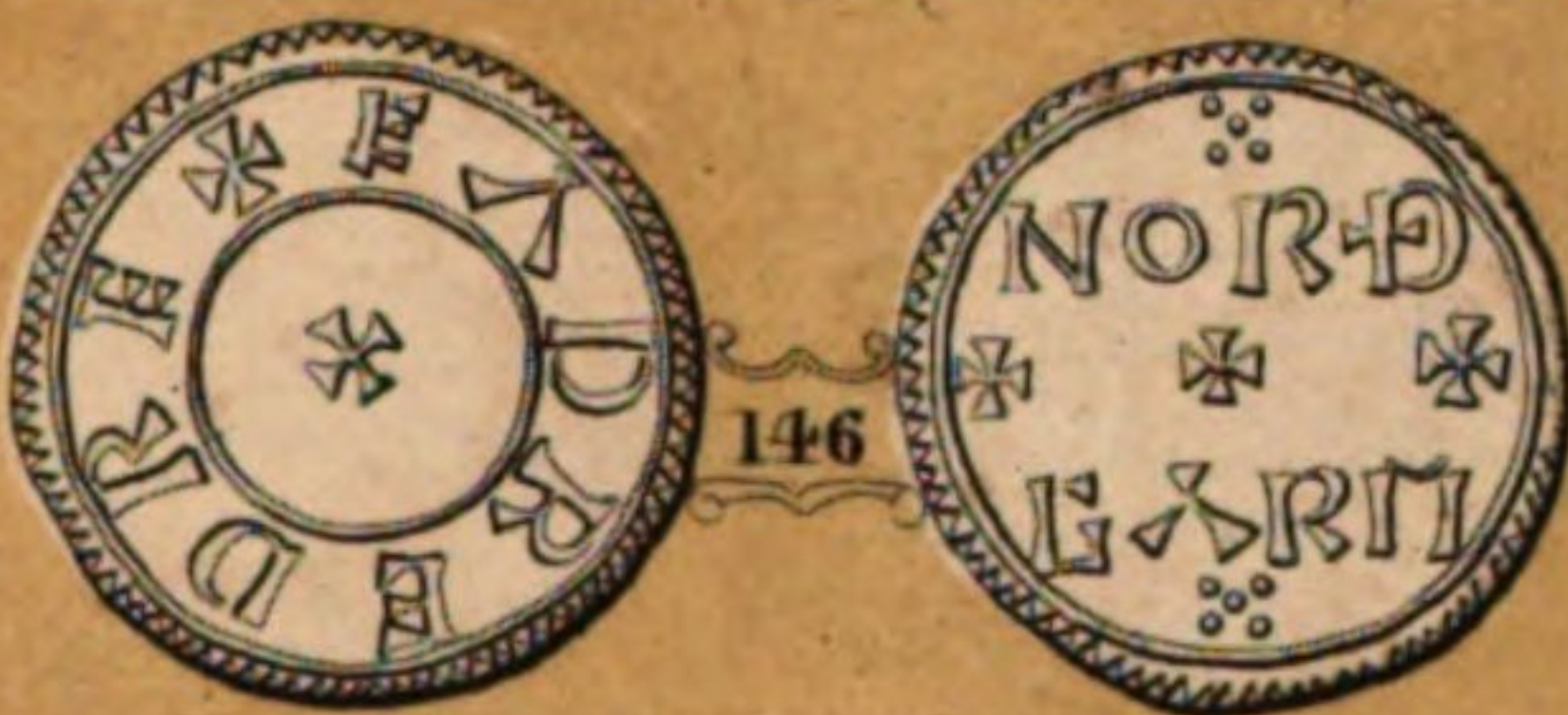
Athelstan



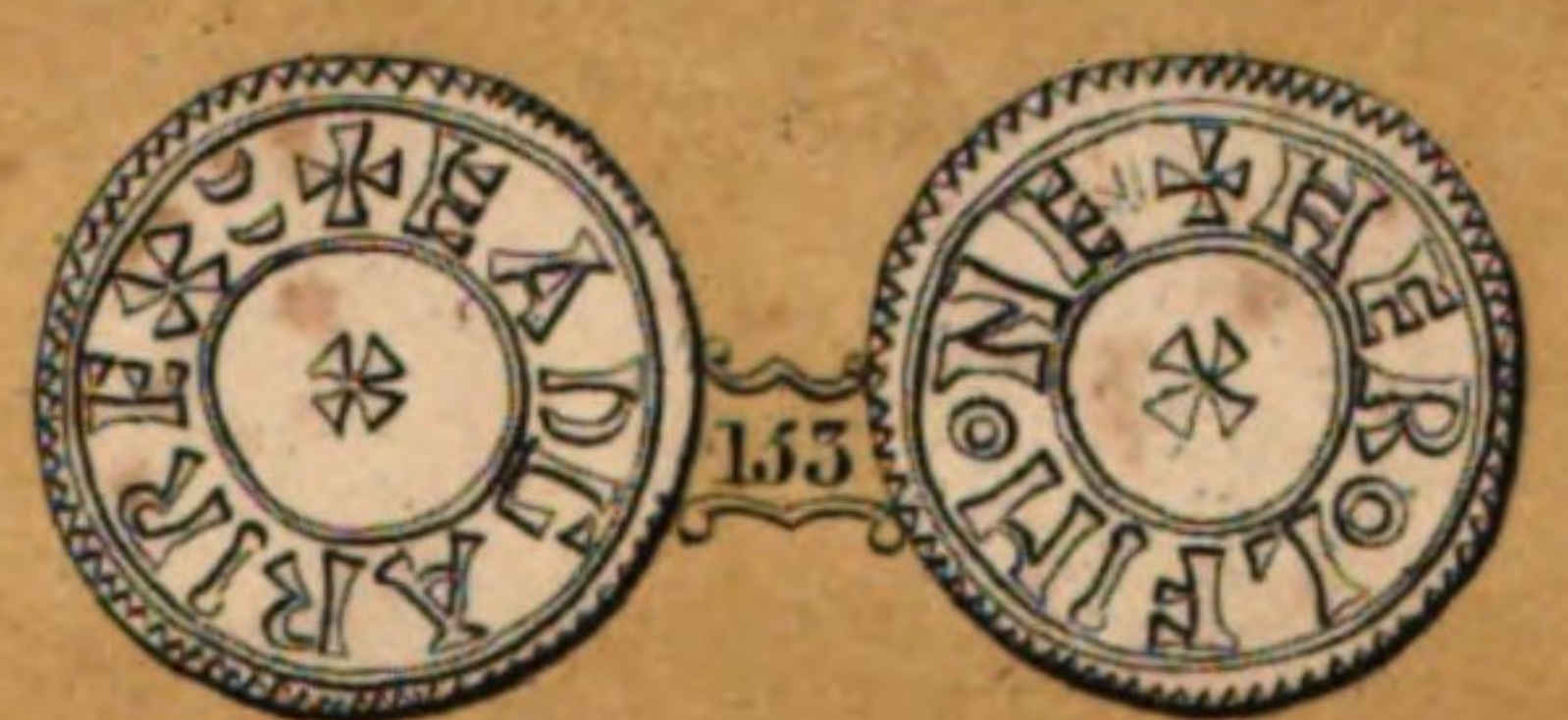
Eadred



Eadwig



Eadgar



Ethelred II.



Edw. Confessor



S' Eadmund



Uncertain



In the thanks to Correspondents, the names of Rev. Jos. W. MARTIN of Keston, from whom I have received much valuable information and several drawings of unpublished coins, and J. H. BURNS, Esq. of London, from whom I have also received several very important communications were accidentally omitted.

In the thanks to Correspondents, the names of Rev. J. W. Martin of
Knox, from whom I have received much valuable information and several
drawings of unpublished coins, and J. H. Burns, Esq. of London, from whom
I have also received several very important communications were
fully omitted.

Lindsay, John

A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy to which is added a list of unpublished mints and moneyers of the chief or sole monarchs, from Egbert to Harold II., also ... an account of some of the principal hoards or parcels of Anglo-Saxon coins which have been discovered

Cork 1842

4 Num.rec. 76 m

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10685361-4